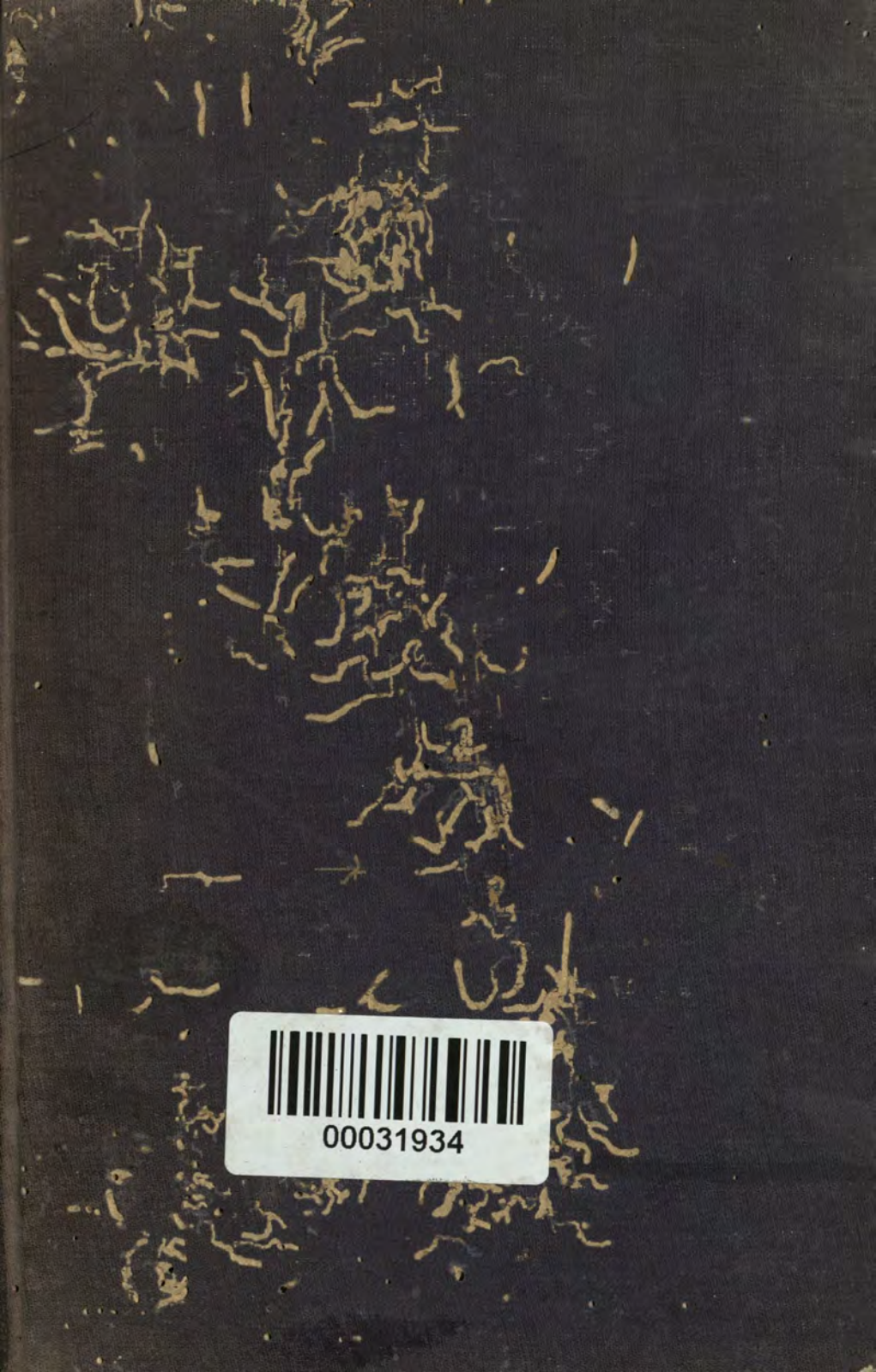
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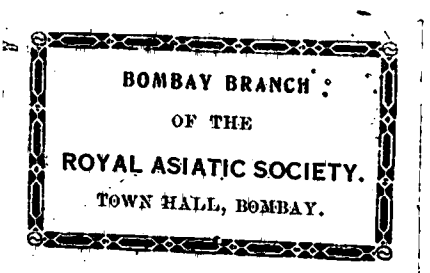

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS:

Part the Second;

EMBRACING

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD,

FROM THE

DOMINION OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS;

WITH A

SURVEY OF PRECEDING PERIODS,

AND A CONTINUATION OF

THE HISTORY OF ARTS AND LETTERS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

F.R.S. AND S.A. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH, INSTIT. SOC. PARIS, AND ACADEM. REGIÆ SCIENC. GOTTING. CORRESP. AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

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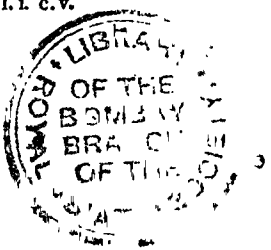
Εκ μην τοιγε της απαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ομοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως τις αν εφικοιτο, και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, αμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ιστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.



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PREFACE.

THE affairs of the Greeks, an ingenious and enterprising people, were gradually interwoven with those of surrounding nations. By their commerce, their colonies, and their conquests, they formed, at length, a very complex, yet clear, chain of connection among all the countries that belong to the subject of ancient history. Their commonwealths, in Italy and Sicily, will appear, *in the present* Work, as prime movers in the wars and revolutions of Europe and of Africa; and the Grecian dynasty in Asia comprehends that interesting period in which, chiefly, the affairs of eastern monarchies admit of any copious and consistent narrative. To prepare my readers for this latter subject, it was necessary to advert to the anterior condition, and long unvarying policy, of the East; because the recorded transactions of former conquerors serve occasionally to explain those of Alexander,

while the projects and achievements of *his* splendid reign continually dart light into the distance and dimness of more remote ages. For the sake of this double reflection, I have ventured, at the commencement of my "Survey," to deviate from the order of time, strictness in this particular being less essential in a work, which is not confined to the mere annals of kings and dynasties, but which is principally directed to objects of more utility or allurement: the local circumstances; the mutual wants; the manners, arts, and occupations of communities at large, and of the various ranks of persons composing them; in which extensive retrospect, I am conscious of having spared no pains to avail myself of all such scattered information as either the fragments of antiquity have handed down, or the casual notices of modern travellers have presented. The Assyrians, and other great nations of Asia, stand, apart, in the front of my work; and, in the body of it, similar notices are afforded, respecting the Carthaginians, Romans, Gauls, Parthians, and the assemblage of warlike subjects under Mithridates of Pontus.

After the example of the earliest and most elegant of Greek historians, whose

subject is akin to mine, though terminating at a far earlier date, I have enquired, as he does on similar occasions *, who they were, those renowned and once powerful nations, subdued and long governed by the Greeks and Macedonians: in what particulars they agreed; wherein they essentially differed; what had been their pursuits; and what were their attainments. Through my adherence to this best of models, my readers will be led from the known to the unknown; and the history of Greece, the country to which we are indebted for our general acquaintance with antiquity, will naturally expand into that of the eastern continent, and of those remote regions of the south and west, which gradually fell within the sphere, either of its military enterprise, or of its commercial intercourse.

This plan of history should seem the best adapted to excite interest, and to convey information. Yet this is not the method that has generally been adopted; for, in all things, the opinions of men are influenced, rather governed, by the decisions of fortune. The grave and judicious Polybius composed his invaluable

* Herodotus, l. i. c. 95. et passim.

work, to show by what means the Romans, in the space of fifty-three years, commencing with the second Punic war, acquired a preponderancy over all those nations, which, in the course of the following century, they reduced into provinces. It appeared to him a task more easy, certainly more animating, to trace the progress of the rising commonwealth, than to rake into the vices and miseries of decaying monarchies: and the same motives that actuated Polybius, have so generally prevailed with succeeding authors, that the history of Rome is very commonly confounded * with that of the world. Thus, instead of proceeding from the Greeks to the Romans, from the stock to the branches, the contrary order has become familiar; a practice that might be suspected to rest on some better foundation than mere flattery to power, had it prevailed uniformly. But, fortunately, we possess remains or notices of many ancient writers, who preferred nearly the same plan that is pursued in the present work: witness, among the Latins, Trogus Pompeius,

* In the title, therefore, of this work, as first published at home, and printed repeatedly abroad, there was an ambiguity, which it has been thought right to remove in the present edition.

unhappily * abridged by Justin; and the great Posidonius of Rhodes, at approaching whose door, Pompey, in his meridian glory, arrested the thunder of his lictors, and commanded them humbly to recline the consular fasces.

Between the reigns of Alexander and Augustus, there is an interval of three hundred years, involving many subordinate changes of fortune, while the principal action consists in the transfer of power from the Greeks and Macedonians, to the Romans and Parthians. Of this period, the first century, from the death of Alexander to the commencing ascendency of Rome, has hitherto been treated imperfectly, leaving many chasms to be filled up from authors little consulted for history, and many perplexed passages to be unravelled by suggestions from parallel occurrences in earlier and later times. This first century may be considered as wholly Grecian: the second may be ascribed indifferently to Greek or Roman story; while the transactions of the third may be fitly embodied in the annals of Rome. This third century, contiguous to Augustus, contains twenty years of Ro-

* The abridgement is said to have caused the loss of the original.

man civil wars, contributing but little to our better acquaintance with those countries, which were their scene, and which produced no other political change than that of conveying, from one military usurper to another, the power already acquired and consolidated by the republic. As the greater part of it, however, was an age of Roman aggrandisement, the writers of Rome may be allowed to claim the whole century for their own, and to interweave its subordinate events in the majestic series of consular triumphs. This proud monument, they emulously raised to the glory of their country; a country, in many points to be envied, but in nothing more than for the patriotism of its authors. Their justly admired compositions, who shall presume to rival? Mine is a humbler aim, to serve as a perpetual commentary on them, and to give them new interest with the modern reader, by explaining more fully than is done by themselves, the resources and institutions of the various nations, who either submitted to the legions, or who, like the Parthians, and the Germans, always defied their arms. At the beginning, indeed, the Romans were mainly a Greek colony; and will be shown to have long continued Greeks, in all essen-

tials but their arms, and the tactics necessarily dependent on them. Under this aspect, they belong strictly to my subject, particularly in the earliest times: and though, to avoid repetition of things generally known, I thought proper to compress my subsequent narrative of their domestic concerns, yet, in the relation of their foreign affairs, few important transactions are left unexplained, from the building of the city to the dominion of Augustus.

In the compass of eight volumes, I have thus attempted a work that had been pronounced, by good judges, at home and abroad, to be wanting in modern literature —a more authentic, less meagre, and better connected ancient history. That a subject so vast and various, should be comprised within very moderate limits, may be ascribed to the new arrangement here given to it, and to my constant study not to substitute descants on history for history itself; to avoid declamatory reflections and wordy disquisitions. Facts and dates are the province of the historian: he is to tell what was done; to relate when and how each scene was transacted: above all, to trace and brighten the connection between effects and their causes, that the

picture of past times may be a perpetual lesson to the present.

The former part of this work was accompanied with two maps, affording a general view of Ancient Greece, its colonies and conquests. But this second part, embracing the whole world of antiquity, could be fitly elucidated by nothing short of an ancient atlas; a work, more or less perfect, to be found in every library. The most comprehensive, however, and most instructive geographer is the historian; and, following the Greek historians, I have exerted the utmost diligence to give precision and perspicuity to the geography in my text; which will be the more amply illustrated, in proportion to the fulness and correctness of the maps with which it is compared.

London,
Upper Seymour Street,
April, 1820.

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SURVEY

OF

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SECT. I.

Death of Alexander, Olymp. cxiv. 1. Before Christ 324.—Two aspects of his reign.

ALEXANDER died at Babylon in the thirty-third year of his age, agitating vast and various schemes both of war and of policy. His short reign, of only twelve years and eight months, may be viewed under two distinct aspects; either as the termination of republican

SECT. I.

Greece, thereby drained of her strength, and thenceforth eclipsed of her splendour; or, as the commencement of a Grecian dynasty in the East, comprehending in that quarter all those nations whose records are embodied in what is now called ancient history. In treating the subject under the former point of view, I endeavoured, in a preceding work[1], to unfold the plan of Alexander's campaigns, and accurately to describe his battles and sieges. But, in contemplating his reign under its second and still more important aspect, as the foundation of a new empire, destined speedily to dissolve into many separate monarchies, it becomes necessary to advert, not only to the exploits which he achieved, but to the extraordinary undertakings which he meditated, and which, verging, as they certainly did, on romantic heroism, were nevertheless, the boldest of them, confined within strict practicable limits.

Peculiarities in his character and fortune.

Above all candidates for renown, the Macedonian stands, indeed, pre-eminent for his uniform and nice discrimination between difficulties and impossibilities. The former, he perseveringly surmounted; with the latter, he never once had the presumption to grapple. This distinction in his favour, which ensured to him the highest interest with writers of reflection, has not failed, however, to expose him to the envious blasts of satire, eager to lessen greatness,

[1] History of Ancient Greece.

and to the more pestilent breath of fabulous[2] panegyric; servilely prone to swell admiration into wonder. If his detractors have absurdly arraigned him, as a destroyer, a rod, and a scourge; his admirers are not entitled to adorn him with the fame of a blameless hero. In the usual course of his behaviour, he was mild, temperate, and just[3]; yet, on several important occasions, he was the victim of anger and of pleasure, the two ordinary sources of human frailty. But such personal excellences or defects disappear before the splendour of his public life, the regular boldness of his plans, and the unrivalled magnitude of his performances. Endowed with an alertness and energy[4] peculiarly his own, he, nevertheless, practised patiently in war the lessons derived from Philip, the greatest of generals. In his civil administration, and the prudent management of his conquests, he adhered as invariably to maxims instilled[5] by Aristotle, the greatest of philoso-

SECT. I.

[2] Strabo, l. ii. p. 70. & l. xv. p. 798. How deeply is the loss to be regretted of Strabo's Commentary on the Transactions of Alexander, alluded to in the former of these passages! He speaks of him upwards of 70 times in the course of his Geography, and always with perfect consistency.

[3] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 29. et passim.

[4] ὀξύτατος καὶ δεινότατος. Id. c. 28.

[5] Strabo, l. i. p. 67. This passage in Strabo anticipates and refutes the false praise bestowed on Alexander at the expence of his preceptor, who, according to Plutarch, advised him to treat the Greeks as freemen, and the Barbarians as slaves. Plutarch's report, of which we shall afterwards see clearly the very improper grounds, has been followed by all modern writers, even the most respectable: Witness the late Dr. Robertson in his Disquisition concerning India, page 23, 4to. edit. Yet Strabo concludes, "Alex-

SECT. I.

phers. This singularity in his proceedings, as regulated by the advice and authority of two such men, and of such opposite principles or purposes, strangely overlooked as it has been by historians and philosophers of Europe, was clearly recognized by Mandanis, an Indian and a priest, when he declared the invading Macedonian the only proficient in wisdom, that he had ever known, even by report, at the head of a victorious army.[6]

Writers, innumerable, have celebrated the valour or fortune of Alexander; but few, in imitation of Mandanis, seem willing to admire his wisdom or sound policy. To do justice to this part of his character, it is necessary to ascertain, how far his resources were adequate to his undertakings, and how far his bare projects were warranted by reason and experience.

His resources commensurate to his undertakings.

Before he thought fit to cross the Hellespont into Asia, he not only extinguished rebellion in Greece and Macedon, but subdued the wider and rougher parts of what is now called Turkey in Europe, inhabited then, as at present, by Thracians and Illyrians, *stubborn* and *warlike*

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ander did not neglect the admonitions sent to him, but accepted them with full approbation, and completely complied with their sense and spirit." What this sense and spirit were, may be seen in my translation of Aristotle's practical works, vol. ii. p. 37. et seq. 3d edit. Aristotle spurned the proud domination of nations over nations, and the pretended right of victors to enslave the vanquished; and his liberal maxims are perpetually exemplified in the proceedings of his pupil.

[6] Strabo, l. xv. p. 715.

SECT. I.

nations.[7] Most useful recruits might thus be derived from the ample region between the confines of the Danube and the sea of Peloponnesus; a country much surpassing Great Britain in extent, and in that age exuberantly populous. The revenues of Macedon, arising partly from the gold mines of Philippi, and those near the lake Bolbe[8], exceeded a million sterling[9]; an annual supply, which, notwithstanding the high pay and liberal subsistence enjoyed[10] by the Greeks and Macedonians, sufficed in those days to keep on foot an army, moderate in point of number, but so judiciously composed and so perfectly disciplined, that no enemies with whom it was called, in the course of a century, to contend, could either resist its strength or elude its velocity.

[7] Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. l. ii. c. 7. The epithets bestowed on them by the Greek historian, they deserve to the present day. Under the names of Croats, Bosnians, Bulgarians, and Servians, they still form towards Europe the iron frontier of Turkish power, hating the Christians in their neighbourhood with the pride of Moslems, exasperated by the inveteracy of borderers. Sadly did the unhappy Emperor Joseph experience their stubborn valour in 1788.

[8] Herodotus, l. v. c. 17.

[9] This will appear hereafter from the sums brought into the Roman treasury, and a critical examination of the passages recording them, in Livy, Pliny, and Velleius Paterculus.

[10] According to Thucydides and Demosthenes the subsistence of Athenian horsemen was equal to their pay, and their pay was a drachma, that is nearly eight-pence daily. The captain had only twice the pay of the rank and file, and the general only twice the pay of a captain. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, l. vii. p. 403. edit. Leuncl. According to these data, and making ample allowance for contingencies, the expence of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse needed not to exceed 900,000l.

SECT. I.

By an adherence to his pre-concerted plan of first gaining the maritime cities of Lesser Asia, before he advanced inland[11], the invader acquired the command of the sea, and thereby ensured the best means of availing himself of his domestic resources. Long before the Indians beheld his altars on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, he should seem to have drawn from Europe contingents of troops of very disproportionate magnitude to the small army of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse[12], which he originally conducted across the Hellespont; and the success of his arms in Asia speedily procured for him most powerful auxiliaries in that quarter. The western division of the Persian empire, containing an incongruous assemblage of indignant republics and rebellious satrapies, hung so loosely together, that one proportion of these reluctant tributaries might be employed in subduing the other, and both of them be afterwards directed against the remaining force of the monarchy.[13] In the course of four laborious campaigns, and through the success chiefly of the three great battles of

[11] Arrian, passim.

[12] The numbers are differently reported: the highest account makes them 43,000 foot, and 5,500 horse. Plutarch de Virtut. Alexand. Orat. i. p. 327. Edit. Xyland. Arrian and Curtius do not profess to specify every reinforcement. Without having in view the general muster, I extracted from them the following contingents: 6000; 500; 3000; 500; 4000; 500; 6000;—in all 20,500 men; these were but a part of the European levies, and the Asiatic were greatly more numerous.

[13] Isocrat. Orat. ad Philipp.

Granicus, Issus, and Arbela, and the two memorable sieges of Halicarnassus and Tyre[14], Alexander thus laid at his mercy dominions twenty times more wealthy[15] than his hereditary kingdom. Many robust Barbarians were embodied under European officers, and with what experience discovered to be a fit admixture of European soldiers; commonly four Greeks to twelve Persians in each division of sixteen[16], that is, in each file of the phalanx. The stoutest and bravest among the vanquished, might delight in the Grecian exercises, and glory at being instructed in the arts, and associated to the arms of the victors: but a passion far more powerful with the multitude than the transient love of glory, would facilitate Alexander's levies

SECT. I.

[14] Many shorter sieges, particularly in the eastern part of the Persian Empire, are described in my former work. Places that bid defiance to other conquerors, were taken in a few days by Alexander. His engineers far excelled all others in all ages of antiquity.

[15] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 95. is thought to give 14,560 Euboeic talents, equal to 2,807,437l. for the revenues of Persia; but this sum appears to have formed rather the privy purse of the emperor. Conf. Herodot. i. 192. iii. 92. Xenoph. Leuncl. p. 230. and 510. Plato Opera, vol. ii. p. 121. Edit. Ficini. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 735. The contributions levied in kind (corn, cattle, cloth, drugs,) equalled those in money, that is, silver. The free gifts on new-year's days were considerable. Plato, vol. ii. p. 121. The distinction above alluded to between the privy purse and the public revenue has passed through a variety of dynasties from the ancient Persians to the modern Turks: but the Hasné or privy purse of the Grand Seignor is now richer than the Miri: which latter is said to amount to 4,000,000l. Eton's Turkish Empire. The custom of presents to their kings on the new year prevails also among the modern Persians. Chardin and Della Valle.

[16] Conf. Arrian, vii. 23. and Plutarch in Alexand. p. 691.

SECT. I.

of oriental troops, if he really seized at Susa[17] the value of nine millions sterling, and as concurring authorities attest, double that amount in the imperial strong-hold of Persepolis.[18] His army, therefore, continually swelled with the progress of his expedition eastward; and the division which he personally conducted, was never more numerous than in the modern province of Lahore, and on the farther bank of the Hyphasis. At this eastern extremity of his conquests, he mustered an hundred and twenty thousand men[19]; and in the last year of his life, he was joined in one day on the Tigris by thirty thousand[20] Persians armed and disciplined after the Grecian fashion.

Subjects of discussion preparatory to the following history

To prepare my readers for the following history, I shall lay before them some account of the various dominions of Alexander, and describe the distribution of his Greeks and Macedonians among them, in reference to local circumstances, and to that easy and general intercourse,

[17] Diodorus Siculus, l. xv. sect. 66. Arrian, iii. 16. Curtius, v. 2. Justin. xi. 14.

[18] Diodorus, xvii. 71. Strabo, xv. 731. Curtius, v. 6. and Plutarch in Alexand.

[19] Curtius, viii. 6.

[20] Arrian, l. vii. c. 8. and 32. and Plutarch in Alexand. The Persians should seem sometimes to have been embodied without the admixture of four Europeans in each file of the phalanx. According to Herodotus, p. 35. the Persians were of all men the most prone to adopt foreign customs, civil and military; and at the present day Mr. Morier observes, "that if the Persians had possessed as much communication with Europeans as the Turks have had, they would have adopted many of our customs." Travels through Persia, &c. p. 366.

SECT. I.

which, according to universal testimony, he laboured throughout to establish: I shall examine his memorable arrangements in the three main points of government, religion, and revenue; and shall exert the utmost diligence to explain, fully and clearly, how far in the concerns either of domestic industry or foreign commerce, he prosecuted the plans of preceding princes, or introduced new ones, incomparably more useful. By the discussion of these important topics, our minds will be enabled to view without confusion the perturbed scenes that opened in the eastern world, and which brought into action all its elements and powers. The struggle for dominion among the Macedonian captains is the most memorable warfare ever waged in Asia in point of duration and obstinacy, and the only general conflict in that quarter of the globe, during which the resources of wealth and numbers were steadily directed by scientific skill and disciplined valour. It terminated, twenty-two years after Alexander's demise, in the decisive battle of Ipsus, by which the edifice of empire that he had reared was indeed irrecoverably ruined as a whole, yet continued, in consequence of arrangements that had been made by him, to shine conspicuously in many of its parts or fragments.[21]

Political geography of Asia.

In treating the first branch of my subject, I could wish to perform what the Greek historian

[21] Ἡς (scil. Αλεξανδρου αρχης) διαλυθεισης επιπλειστον εξελαμπε τα μερη. Appian. in Præfac. c. 10.

SECT. I. of this period has been contented with promising; and to draw a lively picture, impressive on the fancy and memory[22], of the political geography of Asia from the Grecian sea to the Indus, exhibiting all the important peculiarities by which the several portions of that vast territory were essentially characterised. A delineation of the twenty satrapies of Darius would not answer my purpose, since, according to that distribution, which was made chiefly with a view to tribute, nations were classed in the same satrapy, not only dissimilar in manners, but in local situation extremely remote from each other.[23] Besides this inconvenience, the number of the satrapies occasionally underwent alteration[24]: it was imprudently reduced by Darius's successors, who thereby strengthened the hands of their more powerful viceroys or vassals, spontaneously too prone to rebellion: and neither Alexander, nor those who came after him, adhered to a division artificial and arbitrary, since unguided by those permanent differences by which nature had characterised the country, and those scarcely more variable with which time and custom had marked its inhabitants.

[22] Προ οφθαλμων τεθεισης της ὁλης τυποθεσιας, &c. Diodorus, l. xviii. sect. 5. Conf. Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 5. et seq.

[23] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 89. To which add the invaluable commentary of our great geographer; Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 229—323. The subject of the Persian satrapies is learnedly treated also by Mr. Heeren in his "Ideen uber die Politik, &c." that is, "Ideas on the Policy, Intercourse, and Commerce of the Principal States of Antiquity," p. 103—350.

[24] Confer. Herodot. ubi supra, and Xenophon Hellen. and Anabas. passim.

SECT. I.

Its most general aspect.

Considered under their most general aspect, the Macedonian dominions in the East comprehended the Peninsula[25] of Lesser Asia bounded by three seas; the kingdom of Egypt on the opposite or southern side of the Mediterranean; and the most renowned portion of the ancient continent running eastward of that sea, and nearly commensurate with its entire expanse of water both in magnitude and in climate. Alexander's conquests will thus be found to have extended forty-five degrees of longitude over the fairest portion of the temperate zone: their greatest breadth stretched over twenty degrees of latitude, from lake Aral and the Iaxartes to the mouth of the Indus, the entrance of the Persian gulph, and the southern frontier of Egypt; all three positions in the near vicinity of the northern tropic.

Lesser Asia.

In this mighty and generally compact fabric of empire, Lesser Asia and Egypt sufficiently distinguish themselves as outspreading appendages on two opposite sides of the Mediterranean. The former is a peninsula nearly equal to Germany in extent[26], and which, during many ages of antiquity, might be compared with the German empire in the wide variety of its governments. It contained generally, but most conspicuously along the sea-coast, a strong admixture of European blood; which circumstance

[25] The term used by Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673.

[26] Major Rennell, in his admirable map, illustrating Xenophon's Anabasis, has given the Peninsula its due dimensions; D'Anville had lessened its breadth by a whole degree of latitude.

SECT. I. rendered it equally important in a political and military point of view. It had been long famed for its arts and opulence: and its prosperity cannot be suspected of decline under Alexander and his successors, if, after many merciless depredations by Mithridates and the Romans, Mark Antony by a double requisition really extorted from it in one year, the amount of forty millions sterling.[27] In the progress of this work, the enormity of that sum will be reduced nearer to the standard of probability, when we contrast the ancient sources of the riches of Lesser Asia with the actual causes of its wretched poverty.[28] Let it suffice for the present to observe, that it exhibited for the extent of two thousand miles along its winding coast a series of flourishing sea-ports, most of them Greek colonies and republics; an unbroken line of civilization and commercial activity, that can be compared so fitly with nothing in the ancient or modern world, as with the long list of British colonies, now United States, on the coast of North America.

Egypt. Of ancient Egypt we should judge very improperly by the degraded country now bearing that name. The Egyptians of old, whose ingenuity had subdued the Nile, and remedied its

[27] Plutarch in Anton. p. 926. Appian says, this sum was the tribute of ten years. Appian, Bell. Civile, l. v. c. 5.

[28] The deterioration is the most memorable in history, scarcely excepting the desolation of Babylon. Captain Beaufort, who was employed to survey the coasts a few years ago, did not perceive even a fishing boat along the whole southern shore.

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desolating superabundance or too niggardly[29] contributions of water, are described as an orderly and courteous people, delighting in habitual industry, enjoying great vigour of health, and according to the report of Herodotus, those of them cultivating husbandry, or resident in cities, the most intelligent of all foreigners, with whom that acute Greek historian, in the course of his long travels, had the good fortune to converse.[30] Through the sacred indolence of the Moslems in neglecting the various branches and canals of the Nile, Egypt is reduced to half its ancient cultivable soil[31], and contains not even half of its ancient population.[32] Through terror of the wandering Arabs and banditti that perpetually infest its frontier, it is cut off from the mountains of the Red Sea, which supplied it with a profusion of precious marbles. With the ruin of its useful or elegant arts, it has long ceased to command an invaluable caravan commerce, which had rendered it successively a powerful independent kingdom, and the richest satrapy, except Babylonia, in the Persian empire, before Alexander and his successors made it the great maritime emporium of nations. In this flourishing state,

[29] Strabo, xvii. 787. and again, p. 811. Κλειθρα δις ταμιεσι δι αρχιτεκτονες, το τε εισρεον ὑδωρ και το εκρεον.

[30] Herodot. ii. 77. et seq.

[31] See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 521—553.

[32] Josephus states its populousness at eight millions. De Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 4. Its inhabitants are now reduced to less than three millions. Pococke, Volney, and different Histories of the British Expedition to Egypt, in 1801.

SECT. I. it fell into the hands of the Romans, and was governed by them six complete centuries, producing an annual revenue little exceeding indeed three millions sterling[33]; but which, even in the splendid age of Augustus, far surpassed the present value of that sum in exchange either with the labour of man, or the useful productions of nature.

Assyria and Ariana mutually separated by mount Zagros.

Beyond the Mediterranean, and the Peninsula which that sea washes and confines, the broader expanse of Asia is commonly divided into the territories to the east and west of the Tigris. But this most celebrated portion of the ancient continent, as the immemorial seat of endless dynasties, may be more fitly distinguished by the chain of mountains a little east of the Tigris, separating anciently the dominions of Assyria from those of Media, and constituting the actual boundary between Turkish and Persian power. In this mountainous chain, which stretches from the confines of the Euxine to the shores of the Persian gulph, Zagros is the most important link, since forming, as it were, the western wall of Media-Magna, Zagros separates[34] that widest of the satrapies from the once richer and more renowned regions watered by the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris. By establishing mount Zagros for the ground of our division, we shall

[33] Strabo, l. xvii p. 798. The revenue under the Beys was estimated at 1,500,000. Wilson's British Expedition, p. 226.

[34] Το Ζαγριον διοριζον την Μηδιαν και Βαβυλωνιαν. Strabo, l. xv. p. 522. Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 44.

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at once impartially respect the great distinctions of empire in ancient and modern times, the comparative extent and value of territory, and those essential differences of blood and language by which chiefly the nations of the earth are either united or discriminated. Various languages were spoken in Lesser Asia; but, from the confines of that peninsula to those of Media, the Syrian prevailed universally[35]; and the Persian held nearly[36] the same extensive sway to the Indus, over Media; Persis, the proper Persia; Bactria, or Bactriana, and all the inferior provinces of the East. In point of habits and manners, Zagros formed a boundary not less palpable. To the west of it lived the Assyrians, a people comparatively peaceful and civilized; to the east, dwelt the rude Caspians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Arians, Bactrians, Sogdians, all of them alike armed with bows made of reeds, or bamboos, and short lances: in their persons and customs there was a clear and striking resemblance, which universally betrayed a strong admixture of Scythian blood, and Scythian barbarism.[37]

Assyria, its divisions.

In the geography of the Greeks, Assyria, often confounded with Syria, comprehended the four following countries[38]: Mesopotamia and Baby-

[35] Της διαλεκτου μεχρι νυν διαμενουσης της αυτης τοις τε εκτος του Ευφρατου και τοις εντος. Strabo, l. i. p. 41.

[36] Ομογλωττοι παρα μικρον. Id. l. xv. p. 724.

[37] Herodot. l. vii. c. 61. et seq.

[38] Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and Arrian: particularly Herodotus, i. 106. and 178.

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lonia, respectively the northern and southern divisions of the vast peninsula between the Tigris and Euphrates; Atur or Adiabene[39], lying to the east of the Tigris; and Syria Proper, the extensive province to the west of the Euphrates, and reaching from that mighty stream to the coast of the Mediterranean.[40] As the coincidence in language and institutions united the whole of these regions under the common appellation of Assyria, so a similar uniformity diffused over the countries on the other side of Zagros, even to India, the ancient and general name of Ariana[41], a name easily recognizable in the Eriene or Iran[42] of Oriental writers. But, in consequence of the ascendancy acquired, lost, recovered, and at different periods of history long held by Persis, the proper Persia, adjacent to the Persian gulph, the name of Ariana was in later times supplanted, and among the historians and geographers of Europe, at length totally sunk in that of Persia, including not only the countries of Ariana above-mentioned, but the extensive territory southward, washed by the Erythræan sea, and having the Persian gulph and the Indus

Ariana, or Persia, its divisions.

[39] Plin. N. H. l. v. c. 12. This country was called Atur by the natives; which name the Romans confounded with Assyria in its general signification. Dion Cassius, l. lxviii. in Trajan: an error in names which occasioned great confusion in history as well as geography.

[40] Ἡ κατω συρια. Strabo, l. xv. p. 692. "The Lower Syria," that is nearer the sea-coast.

[41] Strabo, xv. p. 688.

[42] Zendavesta passim, and D'Herbelot, Artic. Iran.

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for its western and eastern boundaries. Within this spacious quadrangle, four times the extent of France, the main body of modern Persia extends its useless bulk, the inland regions being scantily supplied with water, and the coast of the Erythræan sea unprovided with safe harbours.[43] Its southern parts are indelibly marked by the wide deserts of Carmania and Gedrosia, and its shores were in all ages of antiquity deformed by miserable *Ichthyophagi*, far spread though feeble tribes, whose bread consisted of dried fishes, their houses of fish bones, and whose sole distinctions of honour depended on the quantity and kinds which they had collected of these wretched materials.[44] But Carmania and Gedrosia, now Kerman and Makran, were respectively bounded on the north by Arachosia and Saranga, provinces refreshed by projecting branches of the Paropamisus.[45] Fertility began with the mountains[46]; and as this tract of Persia formed the shortest communication between India and Assyria, its inhabitants, improved by commerce, are cha-

[43] Oliarius, Tavernier, Chardin, Le Brun.

[44] Arriani Indica, c. 29.

[45] In the middle of the 17th century, Tavernier visited a ruinous city unwalled, supposed the capital of Carmania, and situate in a comparatively fertile district. Voyage en Persé, p. 107. et seq. It appears from his distances to have stood near the borders of Saranga. The country of the Saranguei is now included in Seistan, the capital of which, *Dooshak*, sounds quite differently from Ptolemy's Zaranga. This residence of the Prince of Seistan is but a small place, but there are extensive ruins around it, and innumerable ruined towns or villages are scattered over the province.

[46] Arrian. Indic. c. 40.

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racterized [46] by their party-coloured robes of delicate texture, their wealth, beneficence, and wise polity [47], long before the erection there by Alexander of stations, or staples connected by direct roads with Babylon, destined in his fond fancy, to become once more the centre of commerce, and seat of empire. From this general survey, it will appear that, leaving for the present India out of the account, the Asiatic dominions of Alexander comprehended the comparatively narrow peninsula, compressed between the Euxine and Mediterranean; the widely spreading Assyria, inhabited by Assyrians or Syrians; and Ariana or Persia, the country of the Medes and Persians, and all the kindred nations of the East.

Taurus employed by the ancients as the main ground of geographical distinction.

In each member of this threefold division, we shall find many characteristic differences, moral as well as physical. But in surveying the whole generally, Greek historians, discovered a feature in its geography, which pervaded its entire length, and of which they often make use for distinguishing, not only the larger masses of this territory, but also the minuter groups into which power or policy had thrown it.[48] With both these views, their descriptions of that part of the eastern continent, which lay open to their researches, are commonly guided by the bold form of its mountains, which

[46] Diodorus, xvii. 8. Conf. Herodotus, vii. 67.

[47] Arrian. Exped. Alexand. iii. 26.

[48] Conf. Diodorus, l. xviii. c. 5. et seq. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. and Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 5. et seq.

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decide the course of those great rivers, to whose natural inundations, modified by patient artificial management, the dry Assyrian plains wholly owed their fertility and beauty. These gigantic highlands, the great laboratory of Asia, directly cross the chain of Zagros[49] above noticed, incomparably exceeding it, however, in the length of their course. Commencing in the south-western corner of the peninsula, nearly opposite to Rhodes, they hold under the general name of Taurus, a direction parallel to the Mediterranean, and thus divide Lesser Asia into two unequal parts, by separating the southern and rugged districts of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia from the more extensive and more level provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. At the sacred promontory of Lycia, a branch of Taurus first rises to conspicuous eminence, overhanging the adjacent sea, and thence boasting the proud name[50] of Olympus, a name

[49] The importance assigned in the text to Zagros is conformable to Strabo, l. xi. p. 522. Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 44. Ptolemy enlarges mount Choathros at the expence of Zagros.

[50] Ολυμπον δε διον ὁλολαμπη. Aristot. de Mundo, &c. thence denoting "the all shining mansions of the Gods." See Homer, Odyss. vi. v. 42. beautifully translated by Lucretius, iii. v. 18.

Apparet Divum numen, sedesque quietæ,
Quas neque concutiant venti, etc.

And Claudian,

Celsior exurgit pluviis, auditque ruentes
Sub pedibus nimbos, et rauca tonitrua calcat.

Most ancient nations had their Olympus, even the Scythians, whose descendants, the Tartars, still venerate as such mount Cashgur, on the frontier of their great desert Cobi. In the same manner, Asgard was the Olympus of the Scandinavians. See Edda.

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usurped by many other mountains, both in ancient Greece and her Asiatic settlements. Taking an oblique course as it advances towards the eastern confines of the peninsula, Taurus assumes there a greater elevation, sometimes surveying from its summits at once the Mediterranean and the Euxine, and then gradually diffuses itself over the table land of Armenia, a country in the same latitude with Spain, yet experiencing, in consequence of its height, the utmost severity of winter.[51] From this huge trunk, as it were, of the mountain, a branch extends northwards, which, under the name of Caucasus, towers between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from its northern ridges overlooks the boundless deserts of Sarmatia and Scythia. In a direction opposite to that of Caucasus, Zagros, as above observed, separated Assyria from Media-Magna, forming the western frontier of the latter. The principal entrance into Media, conducted to that beautiful district, which lies between Ecbatana, now Hamadan, and the lake Maraga[52]: and the main issue from the same great province to more eastern lands, passed through the Caspian gates, a vast chasm eight miles long, and commonly forty yards broad, at the distance of an hundred miles due south from the Caspian sea.[53] Media, constituting the link of communication between

[51] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, l. iv. p. 329.

[52] This district was called Matiene. It formed the north-west division of Media-Magna. Herodot. v. 48. 52, and Rennell, p. 277. 538.

[53] Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 14. Conf. Dellavalle, vol. iii. p. 65.

Assyria and Ariana, thus formed, both in a moral and geographical point of view, a great and important boundary. To the west of the Medes lived the Assyrians, a people more polished than themselves; the contrary was the case with the Parthians, Arians, and Persians, and all eastern nations to the Indus. SECT. I.

Orontes, Caucasus, and Imaus.

After pushing forth the opposite branches of Caucasus and Zagros, the great mountain, or rather the table land studded with mountains, continues its course eastward, assuming a little beyond the site of Ecbatana, or Hamadan, the sounding name of Orontes. The portion of Taurus distinguished by this name, separated the two Medias, the northern, Media-Atrapatena, generally[54] a rugged country, the southern, deservedly called Media-Magna, a land abounding in beautiful valleys susceptible of the highest cultivation, and successively the main stock of the Persian and Parthian empires, neither of which were of much account until the kindred nation of the Medes reinforced their power. From the neighbourhood of the Caspian gates, Taurus pushes southward the Paratacaene[55]

[54] Herodotus and Strabo are less favourable to Media Atrapatena than our modern travellers, who speak of its villages as more pleasant than even those of Irac, Media-Magna. These are often embosomed in orchards and gardens, yielding great varieties of delicious fruits.

[55] As Zagros is the western, so the Paratacaene hills are the eastern, wall of Media. The two parallel chains lie about 300 miles asunder. The Paratacaene mountains of Media advance southward to join those of Persis, the proper Persia: the chain is

SECT. I. hills, a branch parallel to Zagros, separating Media from Persia; while the great primary chain still continues its eastern direction through Hyrcania, Parthia, Margiana, Bactria[56] and Sogdia. Under new and harsh names, Bactria and Sogdia have long been deformed by Tartars, but they were anciently embellished by Greeks beyond most regions of the East; and their situation on the Scythian frontier, will give to them much military importance in the subsequent history.

At the extremity of Bactria, the swelling range divides and expands into two broad belts, the one called Imaus, stretching towards the Hyperborean regions, and the coast of Nova Zembla; the other, under the successive names of Paropamisus, the Indian Caucasus, and Emodus, holding the original eastern course, and composing the vast high-lands that long defended the wealth and effeminacy of Hindostan; while on the opposite, or northern side, they form an obtuse angle with Imaus, and thus inclose the great desert of Shamo or Cobi[57], whose frightful sterility still shuts up and guards the unwarlike populousness of China. Alexander attempted not to scale Imaus, the ascent to the proper region of those Scythians, who boast-

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only interrupted by the valley of Ispahan, which city is scarcely four miles distant from the southern mountains. Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 118.

[56] Γη βακτριανη. Strabo. thence often called Bactriana.

[57] Shamo, or Shamoo, is the Chinese name, signifying the "Sea of Sand." Cobi is the Tartar name for the same desert.

ed of being the ancientest of men, because their country was the most elevated[58]; and whose desolating inundations have so often deformed the face of the eastern world. Menacing hordes of this ever warlike nation, he encountered on the banks of the Jaxartes, the northern boundary of Sogdiana or Sogdia. After wounding them from his engines erected on the southern bank of that broad river, he passed to the opposite shore on skins, and assailed the insolent barbarians in a manner so new to them, and so resistless, that they had recourse to a hasty submission.[59] His friendship was then granted to the great Khan, who disavowed the hostile proceedings of a worthless part of his subjects; and Alexander having thus sustained the matchless fame of his arms, allowed himself with admirable policy to be restrained by divine warnings from violating the inward majesty of the desert, into which there was not any rational human motive that should induce him to penetrate.[60]

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[58] Justin, l. ii. c. 1. The boast of those western Scythians in Justin is clearly derived from their eastern brethren the Calmouks and Zongones, who hold the same proud language to the present day. La Chappe Voyage en Siberie, p. 302. The ascent to Chinese Tartary is found by barometrical observations to be 16,000 feet above the Yellow Sea. Conf. Pallas. Act. Petropol. An. 1777. Staunton's Voyage to China, vol. ii. p. 206. and Kirwan's Geological Essays, p. 26. et seq.

[59] Arrian, l. iv. c. 5. et seq. Conf. Plutarch in Alexand. p. 691.

[60] Arrian, Ibid. Nothing can better show Alexander's superiority, than comparing his Scythian warfare with that of the Romans under Crassus, Antony, &c. To cope with Nomadic warriors,

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The Paropamisus.

To the sagacity of that conqueror, the ridges of Paropamisus were not less alluring than Imaus had been repulsive. The southern mountains contained the inlets to India, a country disfigured, indeed, by Greek fables, but known to produce commodities peculiar to itself, and of universal demand among all the civilized nations of antiquity. In penetrating through the Paropamisus thither, Alexander pursued the same route that had been opened, or frequented, by ancient caravans, and which has been followed, as is well known, by all future conquerors. From the precision with which the avenues to India are defined by rivers and defiles, armies in different ages have constantly invaded that country by the same unvaried tract[61]; all of them have traversed the Paropamisus so as to descend into the valley of Candahar, and all have crossed the Indus at Taxila, now Attock, because the only place on that river where the slackened rapidity of current conveniently admits a bridge. But, in his transactions in the neighbourhood of the Indus, and his return to that of the Euphrates, Alexander displayed views in his expedition altogether different from the merciless depredations of a Nadir Shah, a Tamerlane, and a Mahmut. The mountainous

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with whom flight is not disgrace, he divided his cavalry into small squadrons to intercept the enemy's escape. See this mode successfully practised in Bactria, Arrian. iv. 2.

[61] Conf. Arrian, l. iv. c. 22. and D'Anville Eclairciss. sur la Geograph. de la Haute Asie, p. 19.

inlets to India were formed into a Macedonian province, under the name of the Satrapy of Paropamisus, and bridled by well-garrisoned cities, particularly two Alexandrias, upon, or near[63], the sites of the modern Cabul and Candahar, places still recognised as the two principal gates of Hindostan; the former towards Tartary, the latter towards Persia. The high-lands surrounding Cabul and Candahar, containing the sources of the Oxus and Indus, must always be important in a commercial point of view, since they connect the navigable courses of these great rivers; but they were of far greater relative importance in those ages, when the commerce of the East was carried on chiefly or solely by inland communications. In the Panjab again, or country watered by the five eastern branches of the Indus, the pacific Taxiles, and the warlike Porus, were alike reinstated in their dominions, and admitted to the rank of friends.[63] But a surer friend, Python, the son of Agenor[64], was left with a body of Greeks in the Panjab, as superintendant of Macedonian affairs in that important and then valuable[65] territory. These

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[62] Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, p. 153—167. 3d edit.

[63] Arrian, l. v. c. 20.

[64] Thus named by Diodorus, xviii. 39. to distinguish him from Python, the son of Crateas, an officer, as we shall see, of higher rank in Alexander's service.

[65] Plutarch, p. 699. says that Alexander subdued 5000 cities in India, as large as Cos; and Strabo, l. xiv. p. 657. says that Cos, though a beauiful and elegant, is but a small city. "It contained about five or six thousand inhabitants: for Arrian informs us that the country of the Glaucæ in India contained 37 cities, which had from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants." Arrian, l. v. c. 20.

SECT. I. arrangements, so essential to the inland commerce carried on with India, were accompanied by naval undertakings of a bolder nature, but not less decided utility. On the banks chiefly of the Indus and Hydaspes a fleet was constructed, or collected, that from the trireme to the tender, amounted to two thousand sail.[66] While the land forces in divisions pervaded the country on either side, this great armament pursued its triumphant course for the space of six hundred miles down the Indus to the ocean. Having accomplished this voyage, the least serviceable vessels were laid up in the Indian Delta, a district formed by alluvions of the Indus, into the same triangular shape with the well-known Delta of the Nile. The stouter ships or gallies Alexander then manned with above ten thousand Greeks or Phœnicians, and entrusted them to Nearchus, the zealous friend of his youth and adversity during the suspicious reign of Philip, that he might explore the navigation between the mouth of the Indus, and the inmost recess of the Persian gulph; an enterprise which that commander successfully performed in the course of somewhat less than five months, and which he afterwards distinctly and elegantly described.[67] Meanwhile the Greek cities of Bucephalia and Nicæa, and others whose very names have perished[68], were built on the five

[66] Arrian, l. v. c. 2. The numbers, however, are different in his Indian history, c. 19.

[67] Apud Arrian, Hist. Indic. c. 20. et seq.

[68] Plutarch, Arrian, Diodorus, and Pliny.

tributary streams which water the Panjab; and Pattala, now Tatta, was built on the Indus itself, near the top of the Delta[69], destined in Alexander's fond fancy to become the Memphis of the Indian world.

In what sense Taurus may be regarded as a correct line of distinction.

In compliance with the example of ancient historians, I have thus traced mount Taurus to the extremity of the Macedonian conquests. But truth obliges me to observe, that the delineation of this stony girdle of Asia would far better discriminate the divisions of that continent, if its nature more exactly corresponded to the notions which Greek writers entertained of it. They considered this mountainous range, particularly in its prolongation eastward, as separating[70] the dark regions of cold and penury, from the delicious and bright plains of Southern Asia, from countries whose names revive the ideas of enjoyment and splendour; peculiarly adapted to the arts of peace, and the multiplication of men and animals; the first that were adorned by great cities, and which, as the warm genial soil, when softened by irrigation, is in no season of the year condemned to barren sleep, produced abundantly, through many successions of ages and empires, whatever can soothe the senses or

[69] Strabo, l. xv. p. 701.

[70] Diodorus, xviii. 5. Conf. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. and Arrian, l. v. c. 5. All these Greek writers considered Taurus also as an unbroken ridge, dividing the two great central regions of Asia, Iran and Turan, as they are called by the orientals. But in describing the roads from India to Turan, the more northern region, the Ayin Acbaree mentions one by the way of Candahar entirely free from hills. Rennell's Memoir, p. 154.

SECT. I. delight the fancy. But this bold distinction is wanting in correctness. Within the precincts of Lesser Asia, the Greeks well knew that the southern districts of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, are rougher and less fertile than the great central plains of Phrygia and Cappadocia, or the still more northerly tract of Pontus, watered by the Iris and Thermodon.[70] Beyond the limits of that peninsula, Taurus, in its progress eastward, instead of forming a narrow line of partition, swells generally in breadth between the thirty-fifth and fortieth degress of north latitude, and the provinces to which ancient historians assign it for the southern boundary, namely, Armenia, Media-Atrapatena, Parthia, Sogdia, and Bactria, are all of them partly, and some of them chiefly composed of the broad mountainous chain itself. Yet we shall see in the progress of this history, that these northern lands teemed with fruitful and beautiful valleys, immemorially praised by the orientals as earthly paradises; whereas not to mention the southern regions of Carmania and Gedrosia, which can only be classed with the Syrian and Arabian deserts, Persis, the proper Persia, five degrees south of Taurus, is naturally one of the roughest and poorest divisions in the empire bearing its name, and only exceeded by the neighbouring haunts of the predatory Uxii, Mardi, and Cossæans[71], in the forbidding aspect of the country

[70] Strabo, l. xii. p. 548.

[71] The Uxii, Mardi, and Cossæans are branded as thieves and robbers in all ages of antiquity. Of these predatory mountaineers, the

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and native fierceness of its inhabitants. The fortieth degree of latitude, however, which formed the great northern boundary of Alexander's Asiatic empire, may be regarded as a clear and decisive limit[72] between pastoral and agricultural nations, separating the peaceful Armenians from the irreclaimable tenants of Caucasus; Media-Magna from Media-Atrapatena; Sogdia and Bactria from Scythia; and, beyond the geography known to the Greeks, the indefatigable husbandmen of China, from the Nomades in Chinese Tartary.

Military road through Asia.

Before I proceed to explain the distribution of the Greeks and Macedonians among the various provinces which I have enumerated, it will be proper to advert to the natural and usual communications between them in the whole of their extent from the Ægean sea to the Indus. Under the Persians, whose thoughts turned solely on aggrandisement or security, part of this vast route was marked by a great military road which extended above thirteen hundred miles from the Choaspes or Eulæus[73], to the Greek coast of Ionia. The banks of the Eulæus were adorned by Susa, a rich and flourishing city, of whose immemorial prosperity the sources will after-

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Mardi bordered on the Persians, the Uxii on the Susians, the Cossæans on the Medes. Arrian. Indic. cxl.

[72] Compare Strabo, Diodorus, and Arrian above cited, with Chardin, Tavernier, and Foster's journey from Bengal to England in 1798.

[73] The Choaspes and Eulæus unite their streams a little above Susa: thence the confusion of names.

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wards be explained. It stood two hundred[74] miles east of Babylon on the same extended plain, and, through hatred to the Babylonians, had been preferred by the kings of Persia, for the usual residence of their court, and the chief seat of their empire.[75] In consequence of this circumstance, the military or royal road, for the purpose of the historian who describes it, is carried no farther than Susa. This road passed[76] from the Grecian sea through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; penetrated through the Cilician passes at Issus, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, traversed Mesopotamia, and by the floating bridge on the Tigris, passed into Aturia. It then quitted the rough and desert bank of the Tigris[77], and pursued a south-eastern direction through Adiabene or Aturia; crossing, at well-known fords, the four rivers, which, after watering that province, fall into the Tigris: namely, the greater and lesser Zab, which the Greeks called the Wolfe and the Boar; the Diala, or Physcus, which flows

[74] Polyclet apud Strabon, l. xv. p. 728.

[75] According to Xenophon, Cyrus spent seven months at Babylon; two summer months at Ecbatana in Media-Magna: and the three months of spring at Susa. Xenophon Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233. But from the time of Darius Hystaspis, Susa became the chief residence of the Persian kings. Mr. Larcher, in his translation of Herodotus, vol. vii. p. 347. Table Geograph. says, "that the Persian kings after Cyrus, spent the winter at Susa, the summer at Ecbatana, the spring at Babylon, and the autumn at Persepolis." But he does not cite his authorities, and, I believe, none will be found for the residence of those kings during the autumn at Persepolis.

[76] Herodot. l. v. c. 52. et seq.

[77] Thevenot's Travels, p. ii. c. 13.

through the intermediate district; and the more southern Mendeli or Gyndes, which Cyrus, to avenge the drowning of a sacred horse, is said to have deprived of its dignity as a great river by dividing it into 360 artificial channels.[78] From Aturia it conducted to Sittacene the eastern appendage of Babylonia, and from thence proceeded through a rich plain to Susa. The whole route consumed ninety-three days, at the rate of fourteen English miles for each day's march, thus exceeding above thirteen hundred of such miles in length. There is nearly the same distance between the Choaspes which washed the walls of Susa, and the remote parallel stream of the Indus. The military progress through ancient Asia, may be supposed, therefore, to have consumed about the space of six months; but the slowest caravans far exceed the rapidity of armies, commonly travelling each day seventeen or eighteen miles.

The same road frequented.

On this occasion I mention caravans, because the roads, traversed for military purposes by the

[78] Herodotus, ibid. Yet Cyrus, who was incomparably the best and wisest of all the Persian kings, might have better reasons for this strange undertaking. Finding the Gyndes unexpectedly swoln, and being unprovided with embarkations, he might have recourse to the labour of his great army, to make the river fordable: and the sooner to gain his end, might mark out a vast number of channels. See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 202. Cæsar performed a similar operation on the river Sicoris in Spain. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. i. 61. This action in Cyrus, therefore, is not to be put on a footing with that of Xerxes, the third in succession from him, when he threw fetters into the Hellespont. Herodot. vii. 35. Plato says, that Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis are the only kings of Persia worthy of record. De Leg. iii. p. 815.

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immemorially by caravans.

Persians, were, according to the earliest notices in history, frequented by the Assyrians, Arabians, and Indo-Scythians[79] in travelling associations for commerce. To this salutary intercourse through many parts of the Eastern continent, deserts presented difficulties, and mountains impossibilities. The halting places, therefore, and great staples by means of which only an extensive inland traffic can be carried on, were determined chiefly by the direction of Taurus and its various branches above specified. In passing through Lesser Asia, Taurus overhangs the level and easily pervious provinces of that peninsula, which were traversed, as we have seen, by the royal road of the Persians, and which will be shown, in the progress of this history, to have been immemorially the seats of opulent commercial cities. As it advances eastward, the same mountain surveyed from its southern sides, the once rich Assyrian plain, an uninterrupted level little inferior to the peninsula in dimensions, and contiguous to the boundless deserts of Syria and Arabia. The Syrians and Arabians, through all ages of antiquity, spoke dialects of the same language, and might be regarded as branches of one great nation. According to concurring testimonies, the Phœnicians were a colony[80] from the Sabæan coast

[79] Iob. vi. 19. Strabo, xvi. p. 781. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. v. 1088.

[80] Herodotus, l. i. c. i. Conf. Genesis, c. x. v. 15. & c. xii. v. 6. in the translation of Michaelis, and Gesner de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis, annexed to his edition of Orpheus, p. 424. See

in Arabia, who early settled on the coast of Syria, and whose pursuits there, will be found perfectly analogous to those of the peaceful Sabæans, from whom they descended. But neither the Sabæans, Phœnicians, nor Syrians, much less the industrious cultivators of the rich Babylonian plain, had any affinity in manners or in fortune with the far-spread Arabian Nomades. Amidst innumerable revolutions of all around them, these Nomades have remained unalterably the same. At the dawn of history, they appear with their present characteristic features [81]; as men with open hearts, and boiling passions, quick in apprehension, voluble in speech, with ardour to undertake great enterprises, and perseverance to accomplish them; on the whole admirably adapted to those bold commercial expeditions, which, if they deterred by the dangers of distant warfare, also transported by its hopes, and allured by its advantages. Their importance to the Assyrians, in effecting the boasted conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, will afterwards be explained: in commerce also they were early and intimately connected with Nineveh and Babylon, successive capitals of Assyria; and the trade in which

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also a note in Larcher's Herodotus, l. i. c. i. in which he exposes on this subject the stupendous ignorance of Voltaire; an ignorance deforming every part of that too popular author's remarks concerning matters of ancient history.

[81] Schultens Præfat. ad Monument. vetust. Conf. Asiatic Researches, and D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale Artic. Arabes.

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they were the carriers to the latter of those cities affords notices for extending the royal road just mentioned eastward to the Indus.

Whole extent of the caravan road through Asia.

In order to obtain the vast quantities of Indian commodities consumed [82] in Babylon, the shortest route would have conducted across the mountains of the Cossæans and other fierce clans, infesting the rugged frontiers of Susiana, Persia, and Media. It would have next led through Saranga and Arachosia on the confines of the Carmanian and Gedrosian deserts. To avoid such dangers, the Assyrian or Arabian caravans commonly proceeded northwards through Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris into Aturia, and entering the defiles of mount Zagros, penetrated into that district of Media which is contiguous to the Nisæan pastures. From the rich vallies of Media they issued by the Caspian gates, skirted Parthia and Hyrcania, and advancing still eastward, stopped short at Bactria on the Oxus, a great and immemorial emporium of Assyrian and Indian merchandize. [83] From the Oxus the intercourse was continued to the Indus, through those defiles of the Paropamisus above-mentioned. In this latter part of the journey, the Indo-Scythians were the great carriers; hardy mountaineers inhabiting from Cabul to Cashmere, and not less remarkable for their

[82] Ctesias Indic. c. 21. and Herodotus, l. i. c. 183.

[83] Diodor. ii. 5. Conf. Zendavesta, ii. 173. and for the causes of the wealth and splendour of Bactria, Strabo, l. ii. p. 73. & l. xi. p. 509. The same author twice mentions the τριοδος, or meeting of the three roads, from Bactria to India. l. xi. p. 514. & l. xvi. p. 725.

propensity to travelling [84], than their southern neighbours in Hindostan were distinguished by a cowardly superstition that unalterably rivetted them in their native seats; from which, to the present day, they have never willingly removed.

Distribution of Alexander's garrisons through Asia.

Amidst the multiplicity of countries which have been mentioned, the handful of Greeks and Macedonians conducted by Alexander across the Hellespont, must have quickly disappeared, had not his small army been perpetually recruited from Europe, and still more powerfully reinforced by Asiatics instructed in the arts, and associated to the arms of their conquerors. The bravest and most docile of the barbarians had been intermixed in due proportions among his European troops; they were also combined with them in far greater numbers, in the different posts and garrisons which Alexander established at proper distances [85] for maintaining a safe communication between his conquests; for securing their internal tranquillity; and for defending them against foreign invasion. In this manner fourteen thousand Greeks (the number of Macedonians is uncertain) were dispersed through Bactria and Sogdia, to protect those half civilized provinces against the Scythian Nomades. With such Bactrians and Sogdians as had adopted their institutions and submitted to their discipline, the Greeks occupied the antient strongholds on that exposed frontier; and according

Those on the Scythian frontier.

[84] Ælian Hist. Animal. l. iv. c. 6. Conf. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. and Ptolem. Geograph.

[85] Diodor. l. xvii. sect. 83.

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to the plan which their common master had traced, erected the new city of Alexandria, now Cogent, on the deepest recess of the Jaxartes from the skirts of the northern desert.[86] At the opposite extremity of agricultural Asia, Alexander adopted similar precautions against the wandering and warlike Arabs, whom, next to the Scythians, he regarded as the most formidable enemies to the security of his empire. For bridling their incursions, until he executed a plan which he had ably concerted for circumnavigating and subduing their peninsula, a city was built far to the south of Babylon[87], on the frontier of the Arabian desert: this nameless city was strongly fortified and amply garrisoned.

His post on the Arabian frontier.

We have already seen the firm hold which he had taken of India, by the cities and garrisons which he had established on the Indus and its five tributary streams. The mountainous inlets to India, on the side of Sogdia and Bactria, as well as the more level routes through Saranga and Arachosia were guarded by chains of stations a day's journey from each other[88]; nothing was to be feared from the predatory tribes that had hitherto infested this route: Alexander had tamed and bridled them[89]; and his halting-places were chosen with so much judgment for both commercial and military purposes, that

His posts of communications with India.

[86] Arrian, l. iv. c. 1. Conf. D'Anville Geograph. Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 305.

[87] Arrian, l. vii. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

[88] Diodorus.

[89] Arrian Indic. c. 40.

many of them gradually assumed the rank of cities; witness the three Alexandrias in Aria, in Arachosia, and the Paropamisus; and in their line of connection with Babylon, either by the way of the Caspian gates, or by the frontier of the Carmanian and Gedrosian deserts, many other important strong-holds must have intervened, since biographers ascribed to Alexander the foundation of no less than seventy cities in his eastern conquests.[90] Of all those cities, Alexandria in Egypt, built in the vicinity of the antient Canopus, has most illustriously transmitted to modern times the name of the conqueror. For establishing this great emporium destined to continue for eighteen centuries, the principal bond of connection between the East and West, the only situation was selected that obviated the inconveniences of a low coast, invisible at a distance, and dangerous to a proverb when approached.[91] The harbours on the sea, and on the lake Mareotis; the spacious and well ventilated[92] streets of Alexandria; and the magnificent lighthouse in the isle of Pharos, were all of them indeed completed by the first Ptolemy, the brother of Alexander; but that conqueror himself not only planned these noble undertakings, but had begun to carry them into execution; and mixing agreeably to his character, the endearments of private friendship with generous schemes of public utility, he com-

Alexandria in Egypt.

[90] Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. p. 327. Conf. Diodor. xvii. 83.
[91] Strabo, l. xvii. [92] Strabo, ibid. p. 793.

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manded the Pharos to be adorned with a Heroum in honour of Hephæstion; that contracts between merchants and mariners might for ever commemorate the mild and manly virtues of his early, best beloved, and deeply regretted friend. Cleomenes, his intendant general in Egypt, with whom he had much reason to be offended, he exhorted by letters to forward the monument to Hephæstion, declaring with his characteristic sprightliness, that activity in this particular would cancel many past transgressions, and procure indulgence for new ones.[93] Besides this Cleomenes, a Greek, and a skilful financier, Alexander left in Egypt Pentaleon and Polemon, trusty Macedonians, respectively commanding in Memphis and Pelusium.

Forces in Macedon, Lesser Asia, and Ariana.

At the western extremity of the empire, Antipater, the able minister of Philip, governed under his son as lieutenant or viceroy in Macedon; and to such peaceful subjects had the Greeks, Macedonians, and still more turbulent Thracians been reduced, that the military establishments of Antipater, required only sixteen thousand foot, and five thousand horse; that is the full complement of the phalanx, attended with its essential[94] auxiliaries. On the three coasts of Lesser Asia, the generosity of Alexander had subdued the affections of the Greeks. In the interior of that peninsula, his principal

[93] Arrian, l. vii. c. 23.

[94] Diodorus says, 12,000 foot and 11,500 horse. He has augmented the latter at the expence of the former, as will appear, when we come to consider more particularly the composition of Macedonian armies.

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military force rendezvoused under Antigonus, in the central province of Phrygia. The wide extent of Ariana, or Persia, was committed chiefly to Peucestes and Atropates, who ruled respectively in Persis, the proper Persia, and in Media. The king in person, with many of the officers highest in his service, and an army fifty thousand strong[95], spent the last scenes of his life in Babylonia, which he had chosen[96] for the seat of an empire, of which it formed locally the centre, since at an intermediate, and nearly equal distance from its four great boundaries; the Indus, the Danube, the burning sands of Libya, and the bleak Scythian desert. After making this general muster, the parts of which naturally distribute themselves over the above explained geography of the country, I shall delay till the course of my narrative requires it, to enumerate officers commanding inferior provinces, or those entrusted with the various castles or treasuries wrested from Darius and his Satraps. These employments, important as they were, fell[97] generally to the share of subalterns, in two distinguished bodies of horse and foot, known by the technical name of *Companions;* a term of which, in the progress of this history, it will be material accurately to ascertain the import. At present, it is more necessary to remark, that by

Communication between Asia and Europe.

[95] Diodorus, Arrian, Curtius.

[96] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731. In this choice Alexander was guided by experience. From local circumstances and its central situation, Babylonia had been immemorially the seat of arts and empire; the imperial district of Assyria under its successive capitals.

[97] Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius, and Plutarch.

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wise regulations, and an accurate survey of roads and distances, every possible facility was afforded to an uninterrupted communication among all the different garrisons in Asia[98]; and between Asia and Europe, the same secure intercourse was maintained by a fleet of three hundred gallies, commanding the narrow seas, and perpetually exchanging[99] the money and merchandise of the one continent for the men and valour of the other.

Alexander's new maxims for the government of Asia.

In all general discussions concerning Asia, the strength and distribution of armies are matters of primary importance; because in that quarter of the world, the forms of public administration have ever been chiefly military; and, instead of the persuasive voice of law, the coercive arm of power, is, on every occasion, vigorously exerted for the maintenance of police, the collection of revenue, and the enforcement of what is there called justice. With all his unwearied exertions and incomparable abilities, Alexander could not have altered the natural genius of the people, or rather those acquired habits of thinking, which time and custom had indelibly impressed. The great mass of his eastern subjects, he speedily perceived to be incapable of adopting, nay of understanding, the liberal institutions of his hereditary kingdom; a government not of arbitrary will, but of

[98] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 17. Conf. Aristot. de Cura Rei Familiaris, l. ii. p. 510, and Strabo, ii. p. 69.

[99] Diodor. l. xviii. c. 15. Arrian and Curtius, passim.

equitable law[100]; in which all judicial trials were public, and conducted according to precise indispensable forms[101]; in which taxes were not to be imposed but by general consent; and according to which a loyal and martial people presumed, for the public good, to regulate the occupations, and sometimes to controul even the amusements of their sovereigns.[102] Such institutions, Alexander well knew, were not calculated for the meridian of Asia. He employed, however, unremitted diligence to engraft on the irreclaimable and barren stock of despotism, some of the coarser fruits of liberty. Under the Persian dynasty which immediately preceded him, and under the Medes who preceded the Persians, individuals of these nations, who themselves trembled at the frown of a master, governed despotically other nations, whom they scorned as their natural inferiors. In this manner the extended possessions of Asiatic monarchies formed a wide political circle, of which the dominant nation was the centre, and of which the parts nearest to this centre rose in respectability above the provinces more remote from it.[103] Natives of Persis, the proper Persia, thus governed the territories in their immediate neighbourhood; and natives of these territories were employed as Satraps

[100] Κατα νομον βασιλεια. Aristot. Politic.

[101] Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. Curtius, l. x. c. 8.

[102] Curtius, l. viii. c. 6. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxxi. & xliv.

[103] Herodot. l. i. c. 183 & 192, & l. iii. & 192 Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd, l. vii. p. 193.

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over countries more distant from the Persians, and on one side contiguous to themselves. Vested with this commission, they held both the sword and the purse, accountable only for their administration to Satraps nearer to Persia, while the last and nearest of these, always themselves Persians, were amenable to none but the great king or his ministers. The same national pre-eminence had been claimed of old by the Assyrians, and has been exercised with stern cruelty over Asia, by all the conquering dynasties of Scythian or Saracene descent down to the present day.[104] But Alexander, the only Euro-

[104] So extensive in point both of time and place are Asiatic maxims, that the Tartars act towards the Chinese with the same systematic nationality. "The science of government," Lord Macartney observes, "in the eastern world, is understood by those who govern, very differently from what it is in the western. When the succession of a contested kingdom in Europe is once ascertained, whether by violence or compromise, the nation returns to its pristine regularity and composure; it matters little whether a Bourbon or an Austrian fills the throne of Naples or of Spain, because the sovereign, whoever he be, then becomes a Spaniard or a Neapolitan. The policy of Asia is totally opposite. There the prince regards the place of his nativity as an accident of mere indifference. It is not locality, but his own cast or family: it is not the country where he drew his breath, but the blood from which he sprang: it is not the drapery of the theatre, but the spirit of the drama that engages his attention, and occupies his thoughts. A series of two hundred years, under a succession of eight or ten monarchs, did not change the Mogul into a Hindoo, nor has a century and a half made Tchien Lung, a Chinese." The Tartar conqueror never loses sight for a moment of the superiority of his cast: — "his impartiality is a mere pretence: — he conducts himself at bottom with a systematic nationality." Macartney, quoted by Mr. Barrow in his China, p. 415. Comp. Staunton's Chinese Embassy, vol. ii. c. 4. To these remarks I shall add, that in reference to nations, ελευθερια in Herodotus and other correct Greek writers, signifies "the free-

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pean [105] who ever bore sway in the great central regions of the eastern continent, determined to destroy this most invidious of tyrannies, the tyranny of nations over nations, and persevered immovably in his purpose, notwithstanding the perpetual and turbulent remonstrances of his Greeks and Macedonians. The proudest of his lieutenants were compelled to respect the customs, the superstitions, the local prejudices of the vanquished. [106] The ordinary affairs, whether civil or sacred, of the Barbarians, were left to the management of persons appointed from their own number, and the best qualified, therefore, to direct in matters of domestic concern. [107] The severity of government was mitigated by minute partitions of power and quick rotations of magistracy: and we can discern with wonder and regret that offices, whose union is described at

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dom of one nation from vassalage under another." Herodot. i. 95. & iii. 87. et passim. The words denoting what *we* call "liberty" are ισονομια and ισηγορια; words happily chosen, since the former expresses "equality of law regulating actions," and the latter "equality in the use of speech or writing," implying a perfect independence of thought.

[105] The Arabs, in allusion to this circumstance, call Alexander Dhulkcarnaim, "the two horned," quod assecutus est Orientem et Occidentem. Abulpharagius Compend. Dynast. p. 96.

[106] Arrian, l. iii. c. 16. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738, and Joseph. Cont. Apion. Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. compliments the pupil on this subject most unjustly at the expence of his preceptor, a calumny anticipated and refuted by Strabo, l. i. p. 67.

[107] Arrian is careful to notice this arrangement in almost every one of the countries reduced under the Macedonian power. Expedit. Alexand. passim.

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other periods of time as the universal [108] bane of Asia, were clearly distinguished and unalterably separated. In Egypt and Syria, in Babylonia and Media, the functions of the financial administrator were exercised apart from those of the general and the judge; the people might occasionally be injured by persons holding distinctly these various powers, but could not be permanently oppressed by their united and dreadful springs, wound up in one hard hand, and exerted at will by one merciless arm. Amidst the severest toils of war, Alexander never lost sight of the great and liberal maxims which had carefully been instilled into him. [109] In the progress of his conquests, his discipline, without severity, was watchful. In opposition to the custom of the times, his soldiers were restrained from the licence of plunder, and habituated to self-command in the moment of victory. Safety and impunity were granted to seasonable submission: his word was sacred; and his faith once plighted, was relied on as firmly by conquered enemies, as by the unsuspecting companions of his victories. [110]

Alexander's maxims with

According to the universal report of antiquity, Alexander was of all men the most zealously and

[108] From this union of powers, the Asiatics are said to be deprived of all security with regard to property; a security which Bernier, surnamed the Mogul from his long travels in the East, rightly denominates the source of all that is "beau et bon dans la societé," a language altogether different from that of his countrymen, Raynal, Diderot, &c. in the subsequent century. "Le Meum et Tuum sont les plus grands fleaux de genre humain."

[109] See above, p. 3.

[110] Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.

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perpetually observant of his duties to the Gods. But unlike, as we shall see, to his persecuting predecessors in empire, and to his intolerant successors in Egypt and Syria, he treated the worship of all nations with indulgence, and even with reverence. If he commanded the revenues due by Ephesus to be devoted to the restoration and embellishment of its celebrated temple, he was not less attentive to repair the temples in Memphis and Babylon. In this respect he showed no partiality; and neither in the general progress of his march eastward, nor in the wide variety of his numerous excursions, did he omit any sacrifice that was due to the local divinities of the minutest district, or violate any place that was holy, or treat contemptuously any ceremony, however frivolous in itself, yet respectable in the eyes of those, among whom it had long been established. This proceeding, however, ought not to be ascribed to any peculiar excess of superstition. We know on undoubted authority, that Alexander had been taught in early youth to entertain rational and philosophic notions of deity, and to prize the clear conviction of divine truths above his highest exploits and proudest victories.[m]. To account therefore for so striking a singularity in his conduct, it is necessary to advert to what will fully appear in the course of the present work, that throughout the whole of the Macedonian dominions, the local rites of religion were indissolubly

[m] See my translation of Aristotle's Ethicks, and Politicks, vol. i. p. 35, 3d Edit.

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Their influence in arts and commerce.

connected with arts, industry, commerce, and all the best improvements of social life. From the earliest temples in Nineveh and Babylon down to the destruction by Mahomet of the idols of Mecca, the sanctuaries of eastern superstition continued invariably the seats of trade.[112] Even in Greece itself, as I have shewn on a former occasion, the inviolable repositories of temples constituted the ordinary banks of deposit both for individuals and for states.[113] The venerable mansion of Saturn formed the principal treasury at Rome; and such is the force of imitation, that the vestibules and sacred enclosures of the temple of Jerusalem, were sordidly[114] applied to purposes widely different from their pure and primitive destination, as places of prayer to the Almighty.[115]

It is impossible to trace the muddy streams of polytheism to any clear and common source, and would be idle nicely to discriminate between things essentially capricious. Yet capricious and absurd as they are in their own nature, and fraught with many consequences prejudicial to public and private happiness, they appear, all of them, to have contained so many points of agreement,

[112] Sixty idols stood in the Caaba, the ancient resort of the Sabæan merchants. Mahomet ruined trade by the profanation of this temple. Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 21, and Garnier Vie de Mahomet. For the antiquity of the Caaba, these writers might have cited Diodorus, l. iii. c. 44. The situation of his ἱερον ἁγιοτατον exactly corresponds with the Caaba at Mecca.

[113] Xenoph. Anabas. l. v. p. 355, and Cicero in Verrem, l. i. c. 19. Conf. Arrian Exped. Alexand. passim, & l. vi.

[114] Matthew, xxi. 12. [115] Isaiah, lvi. 7.

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as greatly facilitated intercourse among remote, jealous, and often hostile nations. This remark might be copiously illustrated in the notices still extant concerning most of the principal emporia from the Grecian sea to the Indus. In Lesser Asia, in Assyria, and in Ariana, the threefold division above given of the great antient continent, we shall find priestly casts, or families, hereditary ministers of the Gods, bearing sway, in each of them respectively, throughout all the places most conspicuous for civilization and commerce: and, in several cities of Lesser Asia, we shall see this sacerdotal government subsisting in full force from the darkest antiquity down to the bright reign of Augustus, amidst innumerable convulsions and revolutions of all the states around them.[116] Of these hierarchical establishments, however various the rites, the principle or sanction was uniform. It consisted in benefits derived from heaven through the supposed intervention of earthly vicegerents[117]; and in the countries where idolatry is said to have begun, and where it certainly flourished most vigorously, I mean Babylonia and Egypt, priestly domination was essentially connected with the kindly influences of the celestial revolutions on the regular returns of the seasons, and the indispensible operations of agriculture.[118] Originating in an art essential to human subsistence, it extended with another

[116] Diodorus, l. iii. c. 59. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 558 & 672.
[117] Strabo, l. i. p. 24, & l. xvi. p. 762.
[118] Isocrat. Areopagit.

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pre-eminently conducive to actual well-being and future improvement. By commerce only, the scattered rays of knowledge and civility could be collected and concentrated, in cities guarded by the sanctity of temples more surely than they could have been defended by the strength of walls. In these marts of superstition and traffick, fierce Nomades intermixed with peaceful artizans[119]; through the revered authority of priests, the one class was restrained from fraud, and the other from violence; and of the œconomy and tendency of such asyla, or privileged resorts, in simpler ages, we are enabled to judge by their description in later and more corrupt times, when they still presented objects imperiously demanded by the multitude; seducing luxuries to gratify their senses; airy ceremonies and fables to amuse the idleness of their minds; and both of them well calculated to soften their savageness, and bridle their ferocity.[120] In Alexander's punctilious attention to local superstitions we may discern, therefore, a perfect harmony with all the great views by which he was actuated. His veneration for imaginary gods, so universally attested, and so unanimously approved[121], discovers a highly commendable respect for productive and commercial industry, for safe communication and confidential

[119] Stephanus de Urb. Voc. Ασια.

[120] Strabo, ubi supra. See the effect of such establishments among the fiercest nations of Mount Caucasus. Strabo, xi. 497, et seq.

[121] Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus, Strabo, and all the authors whom they cite.

intercourse, for all the arts, either of elegance or utility; in a word, for whatever, in that age, had a tendency to restrain the brutal passions of men, and to engage them in laudable exertions. SECT. I.

His revenues.

History is full of Alexander's endeavours, even during the progress of his conquests, to wean wandering and warlike shepherds from their predatory habits, and to convert them into industrious husbandmen.[122] Of his exertions to make the empire flourish in resources, there is every where abundant attestation; but none of his biographers or historians have furnished us with any notices concerning the imposition or collection of his revenues. On this subject, the only details are given as exceptions to his general system, and must be sought in the writings[123] of his preceptor, to which no one has hitherto, for this purpose, had recourse. With regard to the imposition of taxes, a saying of Alexander's is handed down, reproaching "the wasteful gardener, who, instead of picking the fruit, plucked up the plants themselves."[124] Yet his fleets and armies, his new cities, fortifications, and arsenals, not to mention lesser objects connected either with the defence or with the improvement of his dominions, must have required prodigious efforts of labour, and enormous disbursements of money. His reve-

[122] Strabo, l. xi. p. 517. Pliny, l. vi. Plutarch in Alexand. and Arrian Indic. c. xl.

[123] Aristot. de cura Reifamiliaris, Opera, vol. ii. p. 509. edit. Du Val.

[124] Olitorem se odisse, Alexander dixit, qui radicibus exscinderet olera quæ carpere debuisset.

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nues are vaguely estimated at three hundred thousand talents [125], above fifty millions sterling; and his diligence in augmenting them was zealously seconded by his financial administrators, some of whom hoping to obtain impunity for their malversations, while they gratified their master in an object so important to him, had recourse to very unwarrantable means for diving into the purses of his subjects: abuses, which doubtless affix a stain on the government under which they happened, but which, being oblique and artful, serve notwithstanding to distinguish the extortions under Alexander from the direct and frontless depredations of other Asiatic conquerors.

The intendants, Cleomenes and Philoxenus, their cruel artifices for raising money.

Among these disgraceful expedients for raising money we shall select those employed by Cleomenes, a Greek, formerly mentioned as intendant-general in Egypt, one of the countries most abounding in wealth, and the most reluctant in paying contributions. Corn being the principal export of that fertile kingdom, Cleomenes obtained large sums by alternately imposing and threatening corn laws. On an occasion of pecuniary exigency, he made a progress to the nome of Thebes, whose inhabitants, he understood, worshipped the crocodile: and one of his incautious attendants being snatched away by a hungry monster of this species, Cleomenes pretended that he would ask Alexander's permission to employ his generals commanding in

[125] Justin, l. xiii. c. 1.

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Egypt in a war against crocodiles, and thus make reprisals on an enemy who had visibly been the aggressor. The rich inhabitants of the Thebaid thought no price too dear to purchase impunity for their gods. At another time, Cleomenes complained, that the ecclesiastical establishment of the Egyptians was too burdensome to the state, and that he should be under the necessity of advising his master to make considerable reductions in it. The priests flocked to him with full purses to save their temples, their tithes, and great pecuniary revenues. By letters from Alexander, the same Cleomenes was desired to transfer the festivals and fairs immemorially held at the inland city Canopus, to the maritime capital Alexandria, then rising in its neighbourhood. Persons interested in the prosperity of Canopus, offered him large bribes to suspend the alteration. He accepted the money, but found pretences soon after for carrying his master's orders into execution. [126] Such disgraceful proceedings were not peculiar to Cleomenes. Philoxenus intendant-general in Caria was equally culpable. Having proclaimed a festival to Bacchus, Philoxenus appointed the richest citizens to bear their several parts in the solemnity. To avoid the irksomeness of this tedious ceremony, the Carians purchased exemptions at a high rate. Others, next to them in opulence, were then substituted to their functions: these also desired to commute their

[126] Aristot. ibid.

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personal attendance for money; Philoxenus still persevered in appointing a new set of performers, until he thus received money from all the principal Carians, then and long afterwards a very wealthy people.[127]

Fair financial operations of Antigenes, intendant of Babylonia.

The vile expedients of Cleomenes and Philoxenus differed widely from the fair financial operations of their fellow-labourer Antigenes, intendant-general in Babylonia. Antigenes imposed a tax on masters for every slave or servant employed by them, but stipulated to pay to these masters in return, the full value of every fugitive that escaped from their families or manufactories; a condition, which, in most countries of antiquity, would have proved very burdensome, (slaves, almost the only labourers, being extremely addicted to desertion,) but which was fulfilled at little cost by Antigenes; such an excellent police had he established along the highways in his province! This respectable minister also revived several of the duties or customs which anciently[128] prevailed in the Assyrian empire, when Babylon was the seat of arts and of luxury; and, as will be explained hereafter, at once the source and the centre of an extensive and multifarious commerce.

[127] Aristot. ibid.

[128] Id. ibid. p. 510.

SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION II.

Two Classes of Asiatic Conquerors. — Assyrians and Egyptians, their Characteristics.—Scythians, their Characteristics. — Medes and Persians to be classed with barbarous Conquerors. — The Babylonian Plain. — Its Revolutions and successive Capitals. — Authentic History of Assyria, confirmed by local Circumstances. — State of Asia antecedently to the first great Monarchy. — Inland communication from the Mediterranean to India. — Emporia in Assyria, Ethiopia, and Egypt. — Similarity of their Institutions and Government. — Pursuits and Attainments of the Egyptian Priests. — Their Brethren in Ethiopia. — Meroë, its History and singular Theocracy. — The Sabæans and Phœnicians. — Three main Staples — Babylon in Assyria — Bactra in Ariana — Pessinus in Lesser Asia.

SECT. II. Dynasties preceding the Macedonian.

AGREEABLY to the method above proposed, I proceed to examine how far Alexander's plans were original, and how far, in the concerns either of domestic policy, or of foreign commerce, he was guided by the examples of

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his precursors in empire. The various nations will thus pass in review, who successively governed Asia, and whose transactions, manners, and institutions left indelible impressions on that great division of it known to the writers of antiquity.

Assyrians and Egyptians, their characteristics.

From the concurring testimony of these writers, it appears that, before the Macedonian invasion, two classes of conquerors had alternately held sway in the East. The nations, to which these conquerors belonged, are marked by wide discriminations of civility and barbarism. Antecedently to the memorable reigns of Ninus and Sesostris, the former of which began only twelve, and the latter about fourteen centuries, before the Christian æra, the Assyrians and Egyptians consisted chiefly of laborious husbandmen and industrious artificers, resident in cities or villages, addicted to pomp in religious worship, and so immemorially conversant with arts and letters, that, at their first appearance above the horizon of time, they should seem to have reached their highest meridian of refinement; and the farther back that we remount in their annals, their proceedings in war and peace become proportionally the more worthy of regard.[1] The stupendous monuments, besides, of both these nations may be considered as still

[1] See the first and second books of Diodorus Siculus throughout. For the extensive conquests, and the γραπτας κυρβιας, or geographical tables, of the Egyptians, see Apollonius Rhodius Argonaut. l. iv. v. 275. and Eustathius in Proem. ad Dionys. Perieget. p. 6.

attesting their ancient greatness, since those of the Egyptians which remain, were, according to unquestionable authority, far surpassed and outshone[2] by those of the Assyrians, which have perished through the slighter consistence of their materials. SECT. II.

The second class of eastern conquerors is distinguished by features equally characteristic, but uniformly expressive of grossness and ignorance. Destitute of temples for their gods, and of fixed habitations for themselves, they roved with their flocks, and herds, and tents, over the wide Scythian deserts, stretching between the range of Taurus above described, and another chain of mountains twelve degrees north of it. This northern range, known under the general name of Altai, should seem, from the inhospitable savageness of the inhabitants and the country, to have been rarely visited by strangers during any age of antiquity; in the subsequent times, it is shewn only as the disfigured scene of Tartar and Turkish fables[3]; and it was first carefully surveyed by the curiosity or policy of the Russian government in the course of the last century. Commencing with the lofty Riphæan mountains, a thousand miles due north of the Caspian, Altai prolongs its ridges to the sea-coast of Siberia, and the frightful solitudes of the Tonguses, a people so irreclaimably barbarous, that they are still governed by Sha- Of the Scythians.

[2] Herodot. l. i. c. 178

[3] D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale, Article Caf.

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mans or wizzards.[4] Within the ample region between Taurus and Altai, the elevated plains of Scythia are generally unfit for tillage, though frequently chequered with rich herbage, and have therefore been invariably inhabited by nations or clans, whose manners are pastoral, whose government is patriarchal, and whose habits are military; thus presenting in all ages the same unaltered picture of warlike barbarity; turbulent at home, and awfully formidable abroad.[5] The descents both of Taurus and of Altai afforded, in many parts, the best iron[6], which the Scythians, at their first appearance in history, had already fashioned into swords and hatchets.[7] In giving firmness and sharpness to this metal, in converting the hair of their camels into felt for tents or for garments, and in corrupting the innocent mildness of milk into

[4] View of the Russian Empire, by Smirnove, p. 67.

[5] By modern writers of great eminence, the ancients have been suspected of exaggeration, respecting the populousness of countries called deserts. But the suspicion is not justified by the reports of travellers, who have visited such countries. Mr. Turner, in his journey to Bootan and Thibet, says that Bootan presents to the view mountains covered with eternal verdure, forests of large and lofty trees, every part of the soil cleared and adapted to cultivation, not a slip of land left unimproved. Thibet, on the contrary, exhibits extensive arid plains, or low rocky hills without any visible vegetation. Yet this want is compensated by its multitudinous herds. As Bootan enjoys a superabundance of vegetable life, so does Thibet exhibit a superabundance of animals, p. 216. The antelope has been said absurdly, to subsist without water or food. Yet it would appear that, with greatly less of either than is deemed in most countries essential to the preservation of life, animals may live, and thrive, and wonderfully multiply.

[6] Voyage en Syrie par l'Abbé Chappe Autiruche, p. 603.

[7] Herodot. l. vii. c. 64.

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a liquor highly intoxicating[8], these shepherds of the north displayed their highest reaches of art and ingenuity; but of their native courage and prowess there are perpetual and signal proofs in all their transactions and institutions, and in all the earliest reports concerning them. Not to mention the tradition that Asia had been thrice conquered by Scythians before the building of Nineveh, and that Ninus, the founder of that kingdom, first ventured to withhold from them the tribute which they had exacted from Assyria during fifteen centuries[9], the father of prophane history records their desolating migrations southwards, six hundred and twenty-eight years before the Christian æra. At that period, Cyaxares the Mede had undertaken an expedition against the Assyrian Sarac or Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, when an irruption of eastern Scythians into the rich Nisæan plain, the finest district in Media, recalled him to the defence of his ravaged fields and flaming villages. To this Cyaxares, the Medes acknowledged themselves indebted for their military discipline, and for reducing into regular bodies of pikemen, cavalry, and archers, those shapeless unwieldly masses that had hitherto acted with tumultuary rage and by mere brute force.[10] But the im-

Their irruptions into Southern Asia, Olymp. xxxviii. 1. B. C. 628.

[8] Pallas, History of the Moguls, p. 133.

[9] Justin, l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Diodor. ii. 43. The antiquity of the Scythian conquest is greatly antedated, if the origin of the nation remounted only to the year 1510 before the Christian æra; or, as Herodotus says, a thousand years before Darius's Scythian expedition, Herodot. iv. 7.

[10] Herodot. i. 73—103. Conf. Sancti Hieron. Opera, vol. iv. Coll. 661.

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proved tactics of the Medes served not to resist the perpetual torrents of Scythian horsemen that assailed them in rapid succession; and Cyaxares, in danger of being overwhelmed on all sides by this desultory warfare, consented to acknowledge the Scythians for his masters by paying to them large contributions. In the space of five years, the invaders, carrying their houses on their waggons, pushed their predatory colonies into Armenia, Colchis, Pontus, Cappadocia: some ravagers penetrated into Syria, particularly that division of it called Palestine, in which they occupied Bethshean, a town formerly belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh on this side the Jordan, and which thenceforward received the name of Scythopolis.[11] On the frontiers of the Holy Land, Psammeticus, king of Egypt, came forward, not to oppose the invasion by arms, but to divert it by submission and rich presents.[12] By these offerings, the rage of the Scythians was appeased: slaves and booty formed the main objects of their ambition; since being narrowed in mind by the same habits and mode of life which invigorated and enlarged their bodies, they were totally unfit to govern the conquests which their valour had achieved, and which their rapacity, for the most part, deformed and desolated; for with them the merciless havoc of war was restrained by no considerations even of interest, the naked face of their own country saving them from fear of reprisals

[11] Syncell. Chronograph. p. 214. Conf. Herodot. i. 103. et seq.
[12] Herodot. i. 105.

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in their grossest abuse of victory.[13] Among the fierce natives of the desert, who, on this occasion, established themselves in the counties south of mount Taurus, the sudden alteration in their way of life appears to have produced a correspondent change in their character. Finding themselves in possession of many conveniences and luxuries, hitherto unknown to them, they greedily embraced every new temptation to appetite, indulged the wildest caprices without shame or remorse[14], and passed at one fatal bound from the simplicity of childhood to the miserable voluptuousness of doating old age: a consequence inevitable whenever gross undisciplined minds are borne on too prosperous a tide of fortune. Of this rapid degeneracy, Cyaxares availed himself for destroying part of his unworthy guests, and expelling the remainder of them from Media. In several neighbouring countries, the people collectively took arms against their insolent and besotted oppressors; whose vexations, though dreadful in the villages and open country, had generally stopped short at the gates of walled cities, well provided with granaries and arsenals; and some

[13] Arrian has thus explained the principle of Scythian warfare: ὥτε ἕδραιοι οἰκεῖσι ὥστε δειμαίνειν περὶ τῶν φιλτάτων. "Having no home, they feared not harm to any of its sweet endearments." Arrian Exped. Alexand. iv. 17. And again in his Indian history, c. 40. "Alexander overran the territories of the Uxii, Mardi, and Cossæans, compelling those roving banditti to a settled agricultural life, that having property of their own to defend, they might no longer prey on their neighbours."

[14] Plato de Legibus, iii. p. 815.

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of them possessed also of treasuries. As the Scythians had neither skill nor patience for sieges, money, by way of ransom, was readily accepted by them. Many tribes returned home richly laden with silver: others fell a prey to their own vices or the revived courage of the vanquished; and the agricultural nations of Asia were thus delivered from a scourge by which they had been afflicted upwards of twenty years.[15]

New irruptions of Scythians or Chaldæans. Olymp. xlv. 2. B.C. 599.

But after a short breathing-time of scarcely half this period, a new irruption from the stony girdles of Asia left more indelible marks on the southern parts of that continent. In the most venerable of all records, the Chaldæan Nomades, destined to overthrow Jerusalem and Tyre, are characterized by qualities exactly appropriate to their remotest Tartar descendants.[16] They are the iron nation of the north, the resistless rovers of the desert, whose successions of fierce cavalry are numerous as the ocean waves, and impetuous as the winds of heaven.[17] The slightest attention to geography shows that this impressive imagery is totally inapplicable to those Chaldæans who immemorially formed the sacerdotal tribe in Babylonia, and who cannot possibly

[15] Herodotus says 28 years; others 20; the storm abated gradually. Conf. Herodot. i. 106. Sanct. Hieron. vol. iv. Coll. 661.

[16] The pictures given in Cherefeddin's Life of Tamerlane, and in the life of Zingis, or Gengiscan, by Petit de la Croix, are exact copies of those drawn in Scripture, in Herodotus, in Diodorus, and in Justin.

[17] Conf. Isaiah, c. xxiii. v. 13. Jeremiah, i. 13. and xv. 12. Ezekiel, xxvi. 3. and 7.

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be regarded as a northern people in respect of the Jews or Phœnicians. The Chaldæans of the prophets are those of whom a part was antiently called Chalybians, by the Greeks, from their habitual labours in iron.[18] They dwelt among the craggy descents from the table-land of Armenia towards the Euxine sea, and cultivated there the same trade of armourers for the supply of the western Scythians, which the Turks afterwards exercised for the service of their eastern brethren.[19] Their name, being that of the tribe nearest to civilized nations, was extended to Scythians in general, in the same manner as the appellation of Tartars, or rather Tatars, originally denoting a small body of men, attained in later times an indefinite amplitude[20], and as the name of a miserable village on the southern frontier of Siberia has expanded over the whole of that immense region.[21]

Frequency of Asiatic revolutions, cause thereof.

A lively writer, cited and approved by a learned one, ascribes the frequent revolutions in Asia to the extremes of cold and heat, which in that continent immediately touch each other, without any intervening degree of middle temperature.[22] But, consistently with the records of

[18] Strabo, l. xii. p. 549.

[19] Conf. Strabo ubi supra, and Abulghazi Khan Histoire Genealogique des Tatars, p. ii. c. 5.

[20] The Tartars formed the van-guard of the Scythian armies, and their name thus reaching the ears of foreigners before that of any other tribe, came to be applied by strangers to the whole Scythian nation. Freret in Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xviii. p. 60.

[21] Schmidt's Russische Geschechte. Feodor, 1584.

[22] Conf. Montesquieu Esprit des Loix, l. xvii. c. 3. and Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. c. 26.

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history, indispensable premises to such general conclusions, the vicissitudes in the eastern world may more truly be referred to the striking contrast between fierce Nomades with their warlike manners and habits, and the softened civilization in their neighbourhood of men collected in great cities, dissolved in the luxury of baths and harams. If the Scythians often descended in terror from their cold mountains, the shepherds of Arabia and Ethiopia, as we shall see presently, emerged with as successful boldness from their scorching plains. The Medes, inhabiting a country more southern than Spain, held sway, during their rude pastoral state, for an hundred and sixty years in Upper Asia.[23] But corrupted by their conquests in Assyria, the Medes lost their military prowess, without improving in civil wisdom[24]; and thereupon submitted to Cyrus and his Persians, a people visited by a still warmer sun, but who then lived in scattered villages, subsisted chiefly by hunting and pasturage, and were commonly clothed in the skins of wild beasts.[25]

[23] The Medes were encouraged to revolt from the Assyrians, 710 years before Christ, in consequence of the disasters of Senacherib's army related in Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 36. After the loss of his army, "Senacherib's estate was troubled," Tobit, c. 1. v. 15. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. and Mos. Choronens. l. i. c. 22. Herodotus, who wrote an Assyrian History, the loss of which is infinitely to be regretted, places the foundation of the Assyrian empire 520 years before the revolt of the Medes, (l. i. c. 95.) that is, 1230 years before the Christian æra.

[24] Xenoph. de Institut. Cyri, l. i. passim.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. 71. The revolt of the Persians happened 550 years before Christ; and the last Darius was murdered by Bessus 330 years before Christ.

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The Persians to be classed with barbarous conquerors.

Notwithstanding the boastful fictions of the modern Persians, a mingled brood of Scythians[26] and Saracens, the purer ancient nation bearing the Persian name, including the Medes, intimately united with the Persians in government, in manners, and in language, must, according to authentic history, be classed with the barbarous conquerors of Asia, in as far as concerns the pursuits either of foreign commerce or even of domestic industry. Their unskilful practice, in arms as well as in arts, is attested by all their wars with Greece, circumstantially related in the former part of this work[27]; and the contributions of their provinces were irregular and precarious until the rapacious[28] reign of Darius. In the exercise of what was called government, we see on every side the tremendous power of despots with all the strength and all the weakness incident to their detestable domination[29]; the palaces and cities in the centre polluted by submissive slaves, instruments of a vile luxury, while the distant provinces were perpetually shaken by usurping

[26] The Illiats chiefly of Scythian descent, and other wandering and warlike tribes, form more than half the population of Persia; and may be considered as masters of the country. The lands on which they pasture descend from father to son, and the king is only the head of a powerful tribe, who, by arms, or artifice, has reduced his rivals to subjection. These proprietors of lands are the only real nobility of the country; for the servants of the crown are chosen from men of low birth: ministerial power, in the hands of a great military chief, would under such a government imply that the prince was a mere pageant, or a prisoner.

[27] History of Ancient Greece. See particularly chap. ix. p. 422.

[28] Herodot. l. iii. c. 89.

[29] Και τ' αλλα δσα τοιαυτα Περσικα και Βαρβαρα. Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 11.

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satraps or rebellious vassals. The law of the Medes and Persians, "which altereth not," has been too favourably construed into a definite code of written legislation, bespeaking considerable advancement in civil policy[30]: for indubitable evidence compels us to take the expression in its literal sense.[31] Notwithstanding the primitive and hardy virtues of the Persians, spontaneous results of ignorance and poverty, Xenophon acknowledges with what facility they descended from the innocence of their mountains into the profligacy of Babylonian plains, and with what stubborn formality, characteristic of barbarians, they adhered to the letter, after they had long departed from the spirit of their primi-

[30] In the celebrated Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 449. Mr. Bruce ascribes this maxim to Nebuchadnezzar, who was neither a Mede nor a Persian. But this great traveller was not very accurately acquainted with ancient history, on some important passages of which his work, as will appear in the sequel, throws much light.

[31] The following story is told in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia: — The late king Aga Mahomet Khan, when encamped near Shiraz, said he would not move, till the snow was off the mountain. The winter was severe, and long; the army began to suffer, but the king's word was a law, not to be violated. A great body of workmen was, therefore, sent to remove the snow, and the king marched. This story was told to Sir John, by a chief who had been present, in order to impress his mind with a high opinion of Aga Mahomet Khan. He therefore justly infers, that, "on examination of those passages of Holy Writ in which the laws of the Medes and Persians are mentioned, it will be discovered that the king's word was, in the most ancient days as at present, deemed the fixed and immutable law of the land; and that no more was meant by the phrase, 'altereth not,' than that, when the monarch had once commanded, though it was to commit injustice, he even could not depart from what he had uttered." Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 268.

tive institutions.[32] They were destitute of temples and idols[33], but had been taught by their magi, or priests, an awful veneration for the elements, those particularly of fire and water.[34] This strange superstition prevented them from willingly undertaking any voyage by sea, lest they should defile its waves by the unavoidable secretions from their bodies.[35] Darius Hystaspis, a prince inimical to the magi, endeavoured, indeed, to overcome this religious scruple.[36] Yet of the twelve hundred ships with which his successor Xerxes invaded Greece, not one was furnished by Persia. The sea-ports of Syria and Lesser Asia[37], with the adjacent islands of Greece, supplied the whole number. This timid folly was carried by the Persians to such an extravagant excess, that they never built a harbour, or city of any note, on any part of their vast coasts.[38] They even destroyed those inland navigations which had antecedently been established, and succeeded in the perverse labour[39] of obstructing great rivers fitted to lay open the inmost recesses of Asia, and which

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[32] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 238. et seq. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 135.

[33] Herodot. l. i. c. 131.

[34] Xenoph. ubi supra, and Herodot. l. i. c. 138. & l. iii. c. 16.

[35] Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 2.

[36] Herodot. l. iii. c. 70. & l. iv. c. 44.

[37] At the commencement of Alexander's expedition, the Persian fleet was supplied wholly by the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Cilicians. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. i.

[38] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 6. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. ii. 17.

[39] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. stigmatises their καταρακτας χειροποιητας

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both before and after the domination of those unworthy[40] masters, were successfully employed for that beneficial purpose. Egypt and Babylonia, two countries, which for reasons that will afterwards appear, were the peculiar objects of Alexander's partiality, suffered under the Persians the utmost severity of persecution.[41] Cambyses, the brutal conqueror of Egypt, in his eagerness to level every thing in that ancient kingdom before his own despotism, extinguished the whole royal lineage, and raged with intolerant fury against the priestly cast, or ancient sacerdotal families[42], the first authors and always the main supporters of Egyptian prosperity. Persecution excited rebellion, and rebellion was punished by new aggravations of cruelty. In this manner Egypt, for the space of nearly two centuries, continued the perpetual scene of crimes and of punishments. Scarcely twenty years before the Macedonian conquest, Artaxerxes Ochus suppressed Nectenebus the last conspicuous rebel; and, on this occasion, fresh severities were exercised on the Egyptian priests: their temples were plundered, their lands were wrested from them; even their sacred books, the objects of much religious care, were seized in

[40] Strabo, l. xi. p. 509. He speaks of their grossness, ignorance, and total neglect of all improvement, in terms applicable to the sacred indolence of their Moslem successors. See in Arrian, iii. 16. the joy with which the Babylonians received Alexander, whose first order was, to rebuild the temples demolished by the Persians.

[41] Herodot. l. i. c. 183. 196. l. iii. c. 92. Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 9. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 51.

[42] Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. et seq.

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their hidden repositories, and retained by their cruel persecutors, till ransomed by large sums of money.[43] The injuries inflicted on the Babylonians were not less outrageous. The Persians plundered their treasuries and profaned their temples[44], corrupted their daughters, and emasculated their sons[45]; and with tyranny embittered by envy, intercepted two ancient sources of Babylonian wealth, by obstructing the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris.[46]

Alexander scorned the examples of those conquerors.

To a prince animated by the prospect of extending commerce and diffusing arts and industry over the finest regions of the earth, the proceedings of the conquerors just named, could only present examples to be shunned. In the progress however of his expedition, Alexander used unexampled diligence in searching after the archives[47] of the vanquished, as well as in examining with his own eyes the ancient monuments of their opulence and power.[48] Many invaluable records collected by him, have irrecoverably perished. Yet the objects which he beheld, and the information which he received on the spot, concurring with the notices recorded by a few travellers of his own country, could

[43] Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 51.

[44] Herodot. i. 183. [45] Herodot. l. i. c. 196. & l. iii. c. 92.

[46] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. The kings of Persia treated the merchants of Babylon precisely in the manner, that a merchant of London pretended ludicrously to fear lest this great commercial city might be treated by Charles II. "The king" he was told "is very angry:" "Indeed! I fear he will take the river from us."

[47] Strabo, l. ii. p. 69. Pliny, vi. 17. Conf. Moses Choronens, l. i. c. 7. et seq.

[48] Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.

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not fail to raise his thoughts above the vain pomp of Ecbatana, Pasagarda and Persepolis, and to fix them on the more substantial grandeur of Babylon, Bactra, Tyre, Memphis, and Thebes, before these and other once industrious cities were, some of them, a prey to the savageness of the Scythians, and others of them permanently enslaved under the painted barbarism of the Medes and Persians.

Directs his attention to the earlier transactions of the Assyrians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians. How these were recorded.

In entering upon the history of those ages of productive industry and commercial intercourse, which must of necessity have preceded the destruction and havoc attending the foundation of empires, I might regret the scantiness of my materials, if there was not still greater reason to lament their uncertainty. The ancient glories of the Assyrians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, immemorial cultivators of the earth, and inventors of those arts which naturally flow from the leisure and security of agricultural and settled life, were not indeed abandoned, either to the darkness of oblivion, or the mists of traditionary fable. Their transactions were recorded on monuments[49] of the utmost durability, but recorded in a kind of picture-writing, whose characters, except in gross material objects, being essentially ambiguous, necessarily deepened in obscurity, according to the growing extent of their signification; that is, to the variety or spirituality of the notions which they were employed to express: It is remarked by

[49] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 729. Diodor. l. i. c. 27. Herodotus, Pliny, and Cassiodorus.

Herodotus, that the Egyptians wonderfully excelled in the strength of their memories.[50] A prodigious compass of this faculty was requisite to grasp the wide variety of their hieroglyphics, already perplexed with such difficulties in the age of the patriarch Joseph, who governed Egypt as intendant-general during the greater part of the seventeenth century before Christ, that the interpretation of sacred writing is described as one of the most important professions in the kingdom.[51] It was exercised, like all other employments of dignity, by the privileged or sacerdotal families, in the hands of whose degenerate descendants it always continued to remain, and was often very grossly abused; witness the impudent lies told from hieroglyphics, to the inquisitive travellers Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus[52], remote by five centuries from each other; and at the intermediate point of time between those respectable historians, the shameless fictions, given also as explanations of hieroglyphics, by Manetho and Berosus, when the translation of the books of Moses into Greek under the first Ptolemies piqued the national vanity of these romancers, the one an Egyptian, the other a Babylonian, priest, and made them enhance, beyond all bounds, the antiquity and celebrity of their respective nations. I shall not

[50] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 77. Conf. Diodorus, iii. 4. The hieroglyphics on some single obelisks, are said to amount to 400. Diodorus speaks with wonder of the εμφασεως μνημης συνηθλημενης. Diodor. ibid.

[51] Genesis, xli. 8. The word translated "Magicians" in our bibles, Michaelis renders "Ausleger Egyptishen bilderschrift."

[52] Πολλα λεγοντες φιλοτιμοτερον ηπερ αληθινωτερον. Diodor. i. 29.

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therefore venture to write, what, in the numerous authors who have copied each other on the subject, I have found it disgustingly tiresome to read, and formally repeat those incoherent and insipid fables which pass for ancient history. There would be more shame than satisfaction, in laboriously arranging such flimsy and faithless materials; since, after much pains in selection and decoration, instead of the exploits of kings and conquerors, of men and gods, all equally the creatures of fancy, a more skilful interpretation of the record might rightly substitute the annual vicissitudes of the Euphrates or the Nile, the periodic motions of the heavenly luminaries, the operations and implements of useful arts, Orion or a plough-share. [53]

[53] An agricultural explanation of hieroglyphics is given by Abbé Pluche in his Histoire du Ciel: (vol. i. p. 45. et seq. edit. 1778,) an author, who being an advocate for religion, is most acrimoniously insulted by Voltaire, as an adversary, and treated too snarily by Warburton, who needed not to have feared him as a rival. Warburton's great merit in the explanation of the origin and nature of hieroglyphics is generally and justly admired; yet he has not exhausted the subject, and I cannot reconcile all of his conclusions with the only existing authorities concerning it; viz. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 36. Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4. Porphyr. in Vit. Pythagor. Clemens Alexand. V. Strom. p. 555, and a fragment of Manetho in Eusebius's Chronicle, p. 6. In this fragment, Warburton instead of γραμμασι ἱερογλυφικοις substitutes γραμμασι ἱερογραφικοις. His reason for this correction is, that ἱερογλυφικα being always used by the ancients to denote characters of things, in opposition to alphabetic letters, or characters of words, ought not to be joined with γραμματα, which denotes characters of words only. Because ἱερογλυφικα always denotes characters of things, Warburton concluded that γραμματα always denoted characters of words. The conclusion is illogical, and contradictory to one of the passages on which our whole knowledge of the subject rests, περι δε των Αιθιοπικων γραμματων ἱων παρ

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The Babylonian plain, its revolutions and successive capitals.

The Babylonian plain, however, which comes forward in Scripture as the first great scene of national enterprise, continued to be described long after the introduction of alphabetic writing, as the finest portion of Assyria and of all Asia. At the distance of a few years from the projected tower, "whose top might reach unto heaven[54]," we find in profane history a city whose æra remounts 2234 years before Christ; a date obtained from the astronomical tables sent by Alexander to Aristotle[55], and important beyond other astronomical æras, because supported by various notices and circumstances, all bearing on the same point, and powerfully co-operating to confirm it.[56] That Babylon was immemorially governed by Chaldæans, a sacerdotal cast or family; and that the authority of these Chaldæans was founded on their superior attainments, particularly their proficiency in astronomy, is said to have been attested by the concurring remains of Assyrian history.[57] The

Αιγυπτιοις ἱερογλυφικων καλθμενων, &c. Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4. Conf. Divine Legation, b. iv. s. 4.

[54] Genesis, xi. 19.

[55] Porphyr. apud Simplic. in Aristot. de Cœlo.

[56] Seneca Nat. Quest. l. vii. c. 3. Conf. Anatolius apud Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. l. iii. c. 10. p. 275.

[57] Strabo, l. i. p. 23. & l. xvi. p. 762. The religion propagated by them is still called Sabiasm, and its professors Sabians, from the Assyrian word Saba, the host of heaven. Of the doctrines and ceremonies of this religion, the astronomer Thabet Ebn Korrah, himself a Sabian, gave an account in the Syrian tongue. Abulpharag. Hist. Dynast. p. 281. The Sabians have continued to modern times the greatest astronomers or astrologers in the East, through the long series of Saracene and Tartar dynasties.

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Greeks too, fond as they were of ascribing their scientific improvements to Egypt, acknowledge themselves indebted to the Babylonians for the pole, the gnomon, and the division of the day into twelve hours[58]; inventions which, with others of a like practical nature, could not fail to be diffused over remote countries by a city carrying on a very extensive traffic, and whose wares found their way into Greece many ages before the war of Troy.[59] Of the ingenious manufactures also, for which Babylon continued to be renowned, even under the Persian yoke, many must have remounted to a very high antiquity, since fourteen hundred and fifty years before Christ, the elegant dyes brought from Arabia were already employed in that city, when "the goodly Babylonish garment" overcame the honesty of Achan, and occasioned his memorable punishment in the mournful valley of Achor.[60] Yet, according to the manner in which ancient history is generally understood, after the first glimpses of the tower and city above mentioned, not only these important monuments, but the whole Babylonian plain, disappears from our sight for the space of sixteen centuries, after which lapse of time, Babylon again commands our attention as the new capital of Assyria, upon the destruction of Nineveh, a place described in scripture nine centuries before Christ, in terms calculated to excite our

[58] Herodot. l. i. c. 109. [59] Id. l. i. c. 1.

[60] Joshua, c. vii. v. 21. Conf. 2 Samuel, c. xiii. v. 18. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739., and Bruce's Abyssinia, vol. i. p. 374.

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utmost curiosity. Three hundred years after this magnificent description of Nineveh, and six hundred years before the Christian æra, Babylon was enriched, peopled, and enlarged by Nebuchadnezzar, even beyond the measure of Nineveh itself, that stupendous capital in which there were upwards of six score thousand persons, incapable of discerning between their right hand and their left. [61] Is it yet possible to give an account of what happened in Babylonia in the interval of the sixteen centuries above mentioned, between its projected and unfinished tower, and the wonderful aggrandisement by Nebuchadnezzar of its most ancient city, whose æra, according to the notices sent by Alexander to Aristotle, accords with the year 2234 before Christ? This question is important, for it cannot be imagined that the industry of man, equally stubborn and audacious [62], should have neglected for sixteen hundred years, a territory well known [63], and fitted according to circumstances, to smile the sweetest of plains, or frown the most frightful of deserts. [64] To answer

[61] Jonah, c. iii. v. 3. & c. iv. v. 11.

[62] Genesis, xi. 4—6. "Let us build a city and tower whose top may reach unto heaven." The Lord said, "This the people begin to do, and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do." Compare Horace, Ode iii. l. i.

Audax Iapeti genus
Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit—

Again,

Nil mortalibus arduum est
Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitia, &c.

[63] Herodot. l. i. c. 178, l. iii. c. 92, l. iv. c. 39, l. vii. c. 63. Conf. Joseph. Antic. Jud. l. i. c. 7. & l. xvi. c. 6 & 7.

[64] Strabo, l. xi. p. 502.

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this question fully and clearly, will require a new history of Assyria; for a careful meditation of the only authorities on record, have forced me on conclusions different from those hitherto received, 1. concerning the foundation and extent of the empire of Ninus; 2. concerning the æra and site of Nineveh, its first capital; and 3. concerning the time and circumstances of its decline and downfall. In my endeavour to illustrate this very extensive subject, (for the history of Arabia and Ethiopia will be found essentially connected with that of Assyria) the surest notices of antiquity will be confirmed by reasons drawn from the unalterable dispositions of nature. I therefore request the reader's attention to the following short account of the geography of Assyria, which, among other important points, will evince Alexander's sagacity in the choice of his capital.

Assyria, cause of errors in its geography.

In its complete signification, Assyria comprehended two vast tracts of territory, on opposite sides of the Euphrates; called, in Scripture, Aram beyond the Euphrates, and Aram on this side the river.[65] To the former, the Greeks peculiarly applied the name of Assyria; to the latter, for the sake of distinction, that of Syria.[66] Ex-

[65] Nehemiah, c. i. v. 7. 9. 2. Samuel, viii. 5. Conf. Herodot. ubi supra, and Arrian, l. vii. c. 7.

[66] The names are thus used by Xenophon, Diodorus, Arrian, and the whole series of Greek historians. The Syrians and Assyrians, though regarded as one people, from their agreement in language, in persons, and in manners, (Herodot. l. vii. c. 63.) yet inhabited different sides of the Euphrates; and as we shall see below, were first completely reduced under one empire, by Nebuchadnezzar, six centuries before Christ.

clusively of Aram on this side the river, Assyria contained three divisions; first Mesopotamia, an appellation which, taken literally, should comprehend the space of seven hundred miles between the whole courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, from the Armenian mountains in which they rise, to the Persian gulph into which, during the age of Alexander, they still continued to flow by separate channels.[67] But the name, Mesopotamia, was confined to the northern region, where the rivers diverge an hundred, and in some parts two hundred miles asunder, until in their course towards the sea, they contract to the narrowness of twenty miles in the vicinity of Bagdad, the great modern capital. From this narrow isthmus, the second division of Assyria deriving its name Babylonia from ancient Babel, extended three hundred miles to the Persian gulph, never exceeding fourscore miles in its breadth between the rivers. The third division of Assyria was the projecting district beyond the Tigris, reaching northward to the foot of the Carduchian hills, and watered by the greater and lesser Zab, the Diala, and the Mendeli. From these local circumstances, this eastern district, properly named Atur, was frequently called Messené and Adiabené, Greek translations of Assyrian words, denoting a country lying among rivers difficult of passage.[68]

[67] Nearchus apud Arrian, Indic. c. 40.

[68] Suidas in Voc. Adiaben. Conf. Stephanum de Urbibus in Voc. Messene and Adiabene, cum notis ad locum. Edit. Berkel. In descending the Tigris, travellers are struck with the savage wildness

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It happened, however, that the same term *Messené* denoted also the narrowest part of Babylonia, because that invaluable strip of land, the first scene of enterprize, and first seat of civilization, compressed and defended as it was, by the Euphrates and Tigris, had also from immemorial antiquity been intersected near the site of the modern Bagdad by innumerable canals, several of which bore the appearance of great natural rivers.[69] In their wars for three centuries with the Parthians, the Romans usually marched through the country called Atur by the natives, by themselves Aturia, and which, from the similarity of sound, they easily confounded with the more extensive name of Assyria.[70] While this deception made the Romans dignify the least important division of Assyria, with a name properly applicable to the whole, the terms *Messené* and *Adiabené* made the Greeks under the Roman empire confound the same northern district with the central and more celebrated division, called properly Babylonia; and this conflux of errors from different sources gave birth, as will be shewn presently,

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wildness of the surrounding country. Thevenot's Travels, p. ii. c. 15. The whole space between the two Zabs is a desert; and the roads impracticable, till, leaving the banks of the river, you proceed eastward to the neighbourhood of Arbela: Atur was therefore called Adiabené, on account of its natural obstructions; Babylonia, on account of its artificial canals.

[69] Herodot. l. i. c. 193. Xenoph. Anabas, l. ii. p. 283. Diodorus, l. ii. c. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. ii. v. 6—8.

[70] Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. c. 28. He considers Assyria and Aturia as the same words, differently pronounced.

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to strange misrepresentation of ancient history. Meanwhile it is material to remark that the Assyrians and Syrians, though they had the Euphrates throughout for their acknowledged boundary, could really communicate with each other towards their northern frontier only, where this great river approaches the Mediterranean, until it is again repelled eastward by mount Amanus. Southward of this mountain, Syria extended four hundred miles along the Mediterranean coast: the mean distance of an hundred miles from the sea marked, and indelibly marks the region of fertility: all the vast intermediate space between this limit and the Euphrates is occupied by inhospitable and for the most part impenetrable deserts. [72]

Received notions of Assyrian history.

Before I proceed to relate the history of the Assyrians consistently with these unalterable distinctions in geography, it is necessary to state in few words the received opinions on the subject. It is generally said, then, that the empire of the Assyrians began before the days of Abram; that it extended over all southern Asia; that its capital was Nineveh in Atur [73],

[72] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749. et seq. Comp. Volney, Voyage en Syrie. These deserts were directly crossed but once by an army, that of Nebuchadnezzar, as we shall see below.

[73] Xenophon, in his fifth march from the river Zabatus, or Zab, must have encamped on the ground opposite to Mosul, that is, on the supposed site of Ninus; yet, he who is so careful to mention the 'ruins' of great cities, says nothing of those of Ninus or Nineveh. They passed equally unnoticed by Alexander, of all men the most observant and most curious, who crossed the Tigris in that neighbourhood in his way to Arbela. The error of placing the capital of the Assyrian empire in Atur, on the eastern side of the Tigris, should seem, therefore, to have begun

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the eastern district beyond the Tigris; and that this capital, near the site of the modern Mosul, subsisted with the empire itself thirteen hundred years from the triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis to the voluptuous reign of Sardanapalus, who was destroyed by his provincial governors, Belesys the Babylonian, and Arbaces the Mede, seven hundred and forty-seven years before the Christian æra.[74] Not to mention that the wonderful stability of the dynasty of Ninus, during the space of thirteen hundred years, is incompatible with the varied revolutions in southern Asia during all succeeding periods, and those stubborn causes above explained, from which such perpetual changes have never ceased to flow, this early, extensive, and durable monarchy is so totally inconsistent with the divided state of the ancient world, as represented in sacred and profane authors, that the great Newton and his few followers in chronology, are solicitous to reject the whole story as fictitious, and to make the æra

The two Ninevehs.

to prevail at a later period, nor was it then universal; for Pliny, who speaks twice of the site of Ninus, on both occasions, places it between the Tigris and Euphrates. Plin. vi. 13. & 26.

74 "The antient empire of the Assyrians which had governed Asia for above thirteen hundred years was dissolved on the death of Sardanapalus, 747 years before Christ." Prideaux in the Old and New Testament Connected, b. i. p. 1. and such is the general language of historians and chronologers founded on corrupt or fabulous lists of the great kings of Asia from Ninus to Artaxerxes Mnemon. These lists were copied in that reign by Ctesias, and from him transcribed by Castor, Eusebius, and Syncellus. They contain not a single name agreeing with that of any of the Assyrian kings mentioned in Scripture. But historical arguments, more irrefragable than discordancy of names, totally disprove them.

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of Nineveh, as a seat of empire, to begin about the same time, that other chronologers have thought fit to end it.[75] According to this less extravagant system, the first great Assyrian conqueror was Pull, who appeared in that lofty character seven hundred and seventy-one years before Christ, interposing with a strong arm in the affairs of Syria, and by the plenitude of his power confirming the murderous Manakem in the usurped kingdom of Israel.[76] But even this system of Newton is invalidated by the best Greek historians, and overthrown by the authority of Scripture, which describes Nineveh, in the century before Pull, with the same characteristic majesty in which that capital comes forward twelve hundred years before Christ in profane authors, as a city of wonderful extent, and more wonderful populousness, and the seat of a mighty monarch, whose measures of government were concerted in the council of his princes and ministers.[77] That such a dominion subsisted twelve hundred years before Christ at Mosul, and uninterruptedly continued there for many following centuries is disproved by the strongest evidence. Mosul stands within a

[75] Newton's Chronology followed by the authors of the Ancient Universal History, vol. iv. c. viii. p. 310. & vol. ix. p. 352.

[76] 2 Kings, c. xv.

[77] Jonah, iii. 3. & iv. 11. Conf. Nahum, c. iii. v. 16. et seq. As to the characteristic circumstance respecting Nineveh, its extent of three days journey, it will be shewn hereafter that the circuit of its walls was 480 stadia, which divided by 3 gives 160 stadia, about 17 miles, precisely the computed day's journey among the Orientals in all ages. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. and Tavernier, Lucas, Bernier, Jackson, &c.

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hundred miles of Zobah or Nisibis[78] in northern Mesopotamia, whose kings, inconsiderable potentates, fought in the eleventh century before Christ against Saul and David, kings of Israel; and were often defeated by these illustrious Hebrews. David in particular vanquished Haderezer king of Zobah with great slaughter, stripped his servants of their golden quivers, and not satisfied with recovering his own border on the Euphrates, pursued the flying enemy homeward, and sacked the cities Betah and Berothai[79], places of little strength but considerable commerce, since they contained, with other merchandize, vast magazines of brass[80], a circumstance well marking the country contiguous to Nisibis, both banks of the Tigris in that neighbourhood abounding in copper mines[81], several of which are wrought to the present day, partly for exportation, and partly for supplying the manufactories of the lately populous Diarbekir.[82] From the near connection of Nisibis in locality with Mosul, it is impossible that the former of

[78] 1 Samuel, c. xiv. v. 47. with Michaelis' notes.

[79] 1 Samuel, c. viii. v. 3. and c. xv. v. 18. [80] Id. ibid.

[81] Denoted by the word Mêdan, which gives name to many places in Armenia and Curdistan. See Jackson's Journey from India in 1797.

[82] Diarbekir was, in 1756, more populous than any city in the Turkish empire, not excepting either Cairo or Constantinople. It contained 400,000 inhabitants. "But, in 1737, swarms of locusts devoured all the vegetation of the surrounding country, and occasioned a famine: an epidemic sickness followed, which carried off 300,000 souls in the city of Diarbekir, besides those who perished in the neighbouring villages." Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire, c. vii. p. 268.

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these cities should have long maintained wars with the kings of Israel without bringing into notice the far greater power of Mosul, if that had really been the head of a mighty empire. The great Nineveh, therefore, could not occupy the site usually assigned to it[83]; its splendid court and powerful garrison must have belonged to a kingdom naturally secluded by the desert above mentioned from the countries contiguous to the Mediterranean sea: nor does it appear to have interfered with those countries in war or government, until Pull, King of Assyria, quitting the pacific system which had governed most of his predecessors, conquered Nisibis or Zobah, Haran, Eden, with all the neighbouring strongholds in Armenia or Northern Mesopotamia, and thereby brought his victorious arms on the immediate frontiers of Syria.[84] Of this greater Nineveh, called by the Greeks Ninus, much is said in history. It adorned the invaluable isthmus of Babylonia above described, and its position has been variously marked by the Euphrates and the Tigris, because it occupied the banks of the great canal between them.[85] It was distant above four hundred miles from the fertile district of Nisibis, and secluded from it by the smaller, as from Syria by the greater, desert. It was built by Ninus, the first great Assyrian

[83] The error had began before the time of Strabo. Vid. Strab. l. xvi. ab initio.

[84] 2 Kings, c. xviii. & xix. Conf. Isaiah, c. xxxvi.

[85] Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. and Diodor. l. ii. s. 25. Bochart, Phaleg. l. iv. c. 20. states contradictions which he cannot reconcile.

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conqueror, in the year twelve hundred and thirty before Christ. On the west its territories were bounded by an impenetrable ocean of sand; but to the east[86] it subdued, and governed for the space of five centuries many great countries of *Upper Asia.*[87] The confounding of this

[86] Arrian Indic. c. 1. He extends the Assyrian conquests to India.

[87] Ἡ ανω Ασια, Herodot. l. i. c. 95. that is, the countries east of the Euphrates; Dionysius of Halicarnassus also, Antiq. Roman, l. i. c. 4. thus limits the Assyrian empire in point of space. As to time, Herodotus says the Assyrians governed Upper Asia 520 years before the revolt of the Medes. This revolt, as will appear fully hereafter, happened 710 years before Christ; add 520, and the foundation of the Assyrian empire will remount to the year 1230 before Christ. This date coincides with that given by Appian of Alexandria in Proem. c. ix. Appian says "the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians governed Asia nine hundred years." The last Darius was slain 330 years before Christ: add this to 900, and we shall again have 1230 before Christ for the æra of the Assyrian empire. Herodotus' notices, with respect both to the extent and the duration of that empire, are thus confirmed by two historians inferior to none in point of credit. Independently of this confirmation, his authority may safely be relied on in matters so important to him as the date and dominions of an empire of which he wrote the history. Vid. Hefodot. l. i. c. 106. & 184. Herodotus's Assyrian History is alluded to by Aristotle in his History of Animals, l. viii. c. 18. In speaking of birds with crooked bills, "which never drink," the philosopher observes, that this peculiarity was unknown to Herodotus, who describes the augurial eagle as drinking, in his Narrative of the taking of Nineveh. In M. Camus's edition of the "History of Animals" now before me, he adopts the erroneous reading of "Hesiod instead of Herodotus." Was Hesiod an historian? Or, a question still more decisive, could Hesiod relate an event long posterior to his own age? I add one remark farther, because it appears to me of importance. Herodotus' chronology is not only consistent with Scripture, but tends to increase our reverence for the prophecy there concerning the Assyrians 1452 years before Christ. See Numbers, c. xxiv. v. 22. In this passage, the captivity announced under the Assyrians would be less marvellous if their dominion (as commonly said) had already subsisted many centuries over all Asia.

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capital, built by Ninus, with a city of humbler fortune but much higher antiquity, has strangely perplexed the history of what is called the first great monarchy, or rather the first great empire that permanently established the dominion of nations over nations. The two Ninevehs, however, are distinguished from each other by very clear characteristics. The first was built by Ashur upon his removal from the plain of Shinar, and is described as less considerable than other cities in its neighbourhood.[88] It stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris three hundred miles above Babylon, near to the Carduchian hills on one side, and to the desert of Sinjar on the other, at a place where the river is most conveniently crossed. Its locality is marked by Mosul, the bridge or passage, the name of a city since built on the opposite or western bank: and is still further confirmed by great mounds of earth indicating, according to travellers of good authority[89], the remains of ancient buildings. From the conveniency of passing the Tigris in its neighbourhood, this Nineveh became early a place of considerable traffic; and, as a commercial city, it remained to the reign of Claudius the Roman emperor.[90] But Nineveh, raised

Had that been the case, it was easy to foresee that a powerful nation would be eager to punish its rebellious vassals.

[88] Genesis, c. x. v. 11. & 12. in Michaelis' Translation.

[89] Della Valle, Niebuhr, &c.

[90] Tacitus, Annal. l. xii. c. 13. A.D. 50. His expression, vetustissima sedes Assyriæ are words highly applicable, but not in the sense which he intends them.

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and fortified by Ninus in the great Babylonian plain, was destined to a far shorter though incomparably more brilliant existence; since it was founded seven hundred years later, and was totally demolished[91] six centuries before Christ. When the Assyrians, under Ninus, became extensive conquerors, they built, according to Asiatic maxims, this their great strong-hold and capital in the district alone calculated for such prodigies of architecture and populousness[92], as Nineveh, Babylon, and after them Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad; successive seats of empire, so nearly contiguous, that they arose, not figuratively on the ruins, but literally from the materials of each other.

Completion of Ninus' conquests, consequences thereof. B.C. 1230.

I now proceed to explain the transactions of the Assyrians, and of the principal nations connected with them either in war or in commerce: and for the sake of greater perspicuity, shall refer to the building of Nineveh as a precise and important æra. Many centuries before that event, the virgin soil of Asia, new and warm from the hands of nature, is represented as teeming with

[91] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. with whom Diodorus agrees, says that after the defeat of Sardanapalus and the dissolution of the Assyrian empire, the great Nineveh "immediately disappeared," which disappearance is confirmed by the impressive language of the prophets Nahum and Zephaniah, denouncing the utter desolation and complete destruction of Nineveh. See Nahum, iii. 19. & Zephaniah, ii. 13. & 14. But the lesser Nineveh, or Mosul, continued to exist thousands of years afterwards.

[92] At Arbil, in the finest district of Atur, grain gives an increase only of fifteen, whereas at Bagdad, the increase is twenty times as much. Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 279.

men and animals.[93] The vast central plains inviting to agriculture and a settled life, abounded with well-cultivated fields, and with populous and peaceful cities guarded by the sanctity of temples rather than the strength of walls. Both productive and commercial industry had attained a high degree of improvement; and the mode of carrying on traffic by great caravans conducted by officers of their own choice, produced that experience in travelling and that accurate knowledge of remote countries, which had a tendency to facilitate the march and subsistence of armies. In this state of things, well-concerted schemes of ambition were formed; and the most aspiring and wiliest usurpers found instruments excellently fitted to their ends, in the fierce Nomadic tribes amidst the sands of Arabia on one side, and the deserts of Scythia on the other, who, not yet sufficiently powerful or populous to conquer for themselves, and only solicitous for slaves and plunder[94], were easily tempted to fight for more politic allies aiming at permanent as well as extensive conquest.[95] At the head of his native subjects, reinforced by many Arab tribes[96] under a chief named in Greek Ariæus, the Assyrian Ninus thus overran great part of Asia, and adopted measures for holding in sub-

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[93] Diodor. l. ii. c. 5. Conf. Genesis, c. xxvi. v. 12.

[94] Δωροις και λαφυροις. Diodor. l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 17.

[95] Justin, l. i. c. 1. well marks the distinction. The Nomades, contenti victoria, imperio abstinebant. Ninus the Assyrian, on the other hand, magnitudinem quæsitæ dominationis continua possessione firmavit.

[96] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 1. Compare what is said above, p. 33.

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jection many cities and provinces east of the Euphrates[97], flourishing in arts and industry, and long connected in commercial intercourse with each other.[98] Successful in all his undertakings, the conqueror built a city named from himself[99], in the valuable isthmus between the Euphrates and the Tigris[100], and which attained its utmost magnitude in the age of its founder.[101] This report is not incredible; for Ninus was accompanied to the chosen site of his new capital, by a great oriental army with many women and many servants, like Nebuchadnezzar, who afterwards enlarged Babylon to unrivalled greatness, and like the Tartar prince who in the thirteenth century erected a new city contiguous to Pekin, greatly exceeding London on its present extended scale.[102] The neighbouring strong-holds of Assyria[103], not excepting ancient Babylon, were drained to supply Nineveh; habitations were granted to all foreigners in the service, who wished to repose from their military labours; in a word, none were excluded from the immunities of a place destined at two remote periods, to be the residence of the two longest dynasties that ever

[97] Herodot. l. i. c. 95. [98] Diodorus, ibid.

[99] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 11. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737.

[100] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Herodot. i. 95.

[101] Εκτισε πολιν. Ibid. The words cannot apply to the enlargement of an old city.

[102] Staunton's Embassy to China, vol. ii. p. 146. 4to. edit. Ispahan and other great capitals in Persia, had a similar origin. Chardin, Otter, &c.

[103] Κατα δε βαβυλωνιαν ησαν αλλοι πολεις αξιολογοι. Diodor. l. ii. c. 1.

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reigned in the East, I mean the kings of the House[104] of Ninus, and the Abassides, Caliphs of Bagdad.

Greatness of his capital, and advantages of the surrounding territory.

The district, to which those capitals appertained, owed its pre-eminence to the two rivers by which it is watered and enriched, not principally by spontaneous inundation, like that of the Nile in Egypt, but by the more stubborn means of hydraulic engines, and unceasing manual labour.[105] Both the Euphrates and Tigris take their rise in the Armenian mountains, the Euphrates being formed by two main streams, of which the one holds its tortuous course from

[104] The expression sounds modern, but is as ancient as Herodotus, l. i. c. 107.

[105] Herodotus, l. i. c. 193. Irrigation was commonly performed by small canals, diverted from the parent stream by dams, and distributed among the fields at the season when the water rose. These dams cut the bed of the river, when small; but in great rivers, partial embankments were made, which, without stopping the general current, sent part of it into the canal, which was afterwards divided, in the same way, into more minute rills. Xenoph. Anabas. l. ii. p. 283. In countries less favoured than Babylonia, still more artificial means were employed. The principal of these was a sort of conduit, now called Kaunaut by the Persians; and by the Afghans, Cauraiz. Mr. Elphinstone has described it very particularly in his account of the kingdom of Caubul. In the Kaunaut, the water is obtained by sinking wells, and the spot from whence it issues must always be at the foot of a slope extending to a hill. When the spot is fixed on, a very shallow well is sunk, and another of greater depth is made at some distance up the slope. A succession of wells is thus made, increasing in depth as the ground ascends; but so managed that a subterranean passage, connecting them, has a declivity towards the plain. This passage, or gallery, is generally no larger than to allow the maker to work; but Mr. Elphinstone had heard of a Cauraiz in Persian Khorassan, through which a horseman could ride, with his lance over his shoulder. Account of Caubul, p. 504.

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the lofty northern declivity pointing to the Euxine, and the other flows directly from mount Abas, the central and highest region in Armenia. The Tigris, on the contrary, collects its numerous rills from those southern descents, whose smaller elevation and warmer aspect occasion a speedier melting of the snows, and render the periodical swellings of that river many weeks earlier than those of the Euphrates.[106] Of the two flowing boundaries inclosing Babylonia, the Tigris is the more rapid, has the loftier banks as well as the deeper bed, and, in winter, rolls down the greater body of water. Its pre-eminence is still more visible after the first thaws of spring[107]; but, as the season advances, and the snow begins to melt in those northern and higher regions which feed the Euphrates, this latter stream acquires a decided superiority.[108] It overflows its level banks; and its dominion over the adjacent country is confirmed by a circumstance, which, though little noticed by ancient historians, greatly contributed to that singular fertility, which, if any natural advantages could resist Tartar desolation, Persian anarchy, and Turkish tyranny, would in all ages have entitled Babylonia to boast the greatest

[106] The Tigris swells in March and April: the Euphrates in June and July. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 7. and Foster's Geographical Dissert. on Xenophon's Expedition.

[107] The swelling of the Tigris is then sixteen feet in height. Eyles Irwin's Travels.

[108] Strabo, c. xvi. p. 742. The Euphrates forces a passage through Taurus twelve miles in length, at a place called Elegia. The wonder-loving Pliny is on his own ground when he describes the battle between the mountain and the river. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 24.

cities in the world. For more than forty miles above the site of Bagdad, and throughout the whole territory southward to the sea, the plain between the two rivers slopes with so gradual a declivity, first from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and afterwards from the Tigris to the Euphrates, that it presents in the utmost perfection two vast hanging gardens; with the inestimable advantage in that adust climate of being easily watered by canals drawn from the higher to the lower stream. The whole of Babylonia was immemorially intersected by these artificial channels [109], varying in magnitude from rivers fit to sustain heavy vessels down to such minute streamlets as the Greeks drew along their fields for the culture of millet. [110] Not only in the intermediate peninsula, but in the bordering territory beyond both rivers, the industry of man had reclaimed vast tracts of contiguous desert. [111] Ten leagues west of the Euphrates, there are still marks of the great ancient canal, which had flowed five hundred miles in the same direction with the parent river, again to rejoin it near its wide mouth. [112]

[109] Strabo, l. ix. p. 502. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 193.

[110] Or rather pannick, a plant of the millet kind. Xenoph. Anabas. l. ii. p. 283. How wonderfully does Xenophon's description agree with that in Ezekiel, in his prophecy against Nineveh! "The waters made him great, the deep set him on high, with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field." Ezekiel, xxxi. 4. Words characteristic of the site of Nineveh in the Babylonian plain. But of this more hereafter.

[111] Travellers from Aleppo to Bassora have long remarked ruins of cities, owing their existence to this artificial fertility. Della Valle, Ockley, Ives, &c.

[112] Niebuhr. t. ii. p. 223. Other travellers make the canal begin at Anbar, half-way between Hit and Babylon, while Edrisi, p. 197., carries it to Thapsacus, 200 miles above Hit, and 300 above Babylon.

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This advantage on the western side of the Euphrates, was balanced on the east of the Tigris, by Susis, or Susiana, a rich alluvial district like the Delta of Egypt, and nearly of the same magnitude. The capital, Susa, derived its name from the variety of beautiful lilies [113] conspicuous among the alluring ornaments of its river, the flowery Eulæus. The antiquity of the city is lost amidst the clouds of fable; and, as it stood within an hundred miles of the Persian gulph, and nearly at the equal distance of two hundred from Babylon and Ecbatana, its central situation helped to perpetuate its prosperity through a long succession of dynasties and empires. According to the Grecian mode of estimating fertility, the returns in Susiana amounted to an hundred and often two hundred fold. [114] Grains of the finest sorts; dates, cotton, linen were enumerated among its products; and history despaired to reveal the immemorial establishment of those valuable manufactures in cloth of gold and damasked steel, for which it has continued famous to the latest and worst of times, when alternately a prey to Persians from Shiraz, and Turks from Bassora. [115] Tyranny will at last, however, do its work; and, according to our latest travellers in Susiana, the eye becomes fatigued with a continued chain of deserted villages. In a subsequent part of this work, we shall be brought back to Susis, and called to

[113] Stephanus de Urb. in Voc. Susa, and Athenæus Deipn. l. xii. p. 513. In modern Persian, "Sus" means "beautiful, agreeable;" an easy transition.

[114] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

[115] Edrisi, p. 122. et seq. and Otter, vol. ii. p. 50. et seq.

describe its rivers and geography, when it became the scene of military operations between the dexterity of Eumenes and the energy of Antigonus; two of the ablest among Alexander's captains. It is enough at present to remark, that this flat alluvial district formed a continuation of the rich Babylonian plain, through which, in addition to other advantages, there was the utmost facility of communication by land and water.

The proper Babylonia bore away the palm of fertility from Egypt and even from Susis.[116] In the language of Herodotus and Strabo, it restored with an increase of an hundred and three hundred[117] fold, all the finest kinds of grain with which it was sown, or, perhaps, planted. The leaves of wheat and barley were four fingers broad; and Herodotus is unwilling to describe the stalks of millet and sesame, lest he should incur the reproach of exaggeration. The whole country was adorned with palm trees, which presented the triple offerings of bread, honey, and wine[118]; fruits were in the same season succeeded by new flowers; and the soft warm soil, strongly impregnated with nitre, required only a sprinkling of water to be converted, in a few weeks, from an arid waste into a green paradise.

[116] Herodot. l. i. c. 193. et Strabo, c. xvi. p. 742. Conf. Aristot. Politic. ii. 4.

[117] A crop of corn in Egypt still yields on an average from twenty-five to thirty measures for one; in extraordinary years the land gives a produce of fifty for one; instances have occurred where one hundred and fifty times the seed sown has been reaped. Wilson's Expedition to Egypt, p. 225.

[118] Strabo mentions an Oriental poem celebrating 360 uses of the palm, l. xv. p. 742.

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In materials for building, Babylonia surpassed all other countries.[119] It every where afforded a viscous clay, fit to be formed into the hardest bricks, either when they were baked in the furnace, or simply dried in the sun; and the naphtha or bitumen, the firmest of all cements, was found, at convenient intervals, from the eastern extremity of Susis to Hit, a town on the Euphrates, eight days' journey above Babylon.[120] For the timber usually employed in carpentry, the Babylonians often substituted their native cypress, without neglecting the reeds and osiers growing profusely on the marshy banks of their rivers. But the currents of these rivers would bring them seasonable supplies of the most serviceable forest-trees from the thick woods in Armenia.

With men and materials at command, Ninus raised a city, which is said to have been four hundred and eighty stadia, or forty-eight miles in compass.[121] It was built after the fashion of the greatest Asiatic cities to the present day, with spacious gardens, large reservoirs of water, and, as it should seem, with several wide pastures for cattle.[122] But of the magnitude of Assyrian cities, and of the means by which their numerous inhabitants were subsisted, at once comfortably and cheaply, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, when I come to treat of Babylon, which

[119] Herodot. l. i. c. 179. and Xenoph. Anabas. l. ii. p. 282.

[120] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743. Conf. Herodot. ibid.

[121] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3. Above twice the circuit of Palimbothra, the capital of the Brasii, in India. Arrian, Indic. Hist. c. x.

[122] Jonah.

though of the same circuit with Nineveh, about forty-eight British miles [123], was by much the larger city; since Babylon was a regular square of twelve miles, whereas Nineveh was an oblong, measuring fifteen miles in length, and only nine miles in breadth. [124] It is sufficient for my present purpose to remark, that the quadrangular form of these successive capitals of Asia, their precise agreement in circuit, their straight streets, and regular symmetry, plainly indicate their common origin in the encampments of vast armies, which, as we learn from respectable authority, not only formed their models in point of architectural arrangement, but supplied one of the chief sources of their populousness. [125]

His queen Semiramis.

In the fulness of years and glory, Ninus was succeeded, or supplanted, by his queen Semiramis, a woman whose boldness of spirit had already entitled her to share the diadem. This martial princess endeavoured to extend her empire by the conquest of India, an enterprize unfortunate, according to Greek historians [126], but which, were Indian testimony admissible [127], should seem to have been crowned with signal success. The whole story of Semiramis is in-

[123] According to Major Rennell, 10 stadia are nearly equal to a British mile. Geography of Herodotus, p. 31.

[124] Conf. Diodorus, l. ii. c. 3. and Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743. [125] Diodor. ibid.

[126] Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. speaks as if she had died before carrying her designs against India into execution. Arrian says that she died before the object of the expedition was effected. Arrian, Indica.

[127] The poetry of the Indians, for they have no history, is said to specify on a variety of occasions the attention of their ancient princes to pay a stipulated tribute to the great kings of Assyria. See Vincent's Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, p. 60.

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deed blended with fable; yet the consenting voice of antiquity long celebrated her renown, confirmed, it was said, and perpetuated by everlasting monuments, extending at wide intervals over the finest regions of the East; vast mounds, lofty obelisks, stupendous mausoleums and palaces; more useful roads, canals, bridges, and emporiums.

And son Ninyas.

Ninyas, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, strangely degenerated from both his parents in point of martial spirit. His empire, however, was held together by contrivances that indicate more refinement than is, at any future time, discernible in the great monarchies of the East. While the sovereign resided in his vast palace amidst beautiful gardens, or rather parks, which the Babylonians called paradises [128], great bodies of soldiers encamped in the neighbouring districts. They were variously armed after the fashion of the respective provinces from which they came, all tributaries to Nineveh; and they were commanded by generals in whom Ninyas or his ministers, who had bound them by good offices, could implicitly confide. When the soldiers, thus appointed and officered, had performed their annual service of guarding the court and capital, they were relieved by new levies belonging to the same provinces, which levies, at the year's end, again made way for a third draught of military successors. By means of this rotation, the controuling army, though

[128] The great city Sitace; vast, populous, with its beautiful paradises, must have stood near the site of Nineveh. Xenoph. Anabas, l. ii. p. 283.

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uniformly the same in its mass, as an instrument of authority, was changed too often in its parts, to become an engine of rebellion; and the security, resulting from so judicious an arrangement, is said to have been increased and confirmed by the minute partition of provincial power among satraps, generals, intendants, and judges.[129]

The policy of Ninyas was adopted and maintained for the space of four centuries by a line of seventeen princes[130], whose mild and pacific reigns, leaving no traces of blood behind them, have escaped the notice of history. At the end of that period, Pull, King of Nineveh, and the eighteenth successor of Ninyas, assumed the command of his own armies, and crossing the

Transactions of the Assyrians to the reign of Semacherib, B. C. 712.

[129] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 21.

[130] This passage of history is, indeed, liable to objection. How can it be otherwise, when ancient testimonies are irreconcileable? My narrative, however, is founded on notices in Herodotus, who, himself, wrote an Assyrian history; in Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and in Appian of Alexandria; writers of the highest credit. These authorities ascertain the æra of Ninus and of the building of Nineveh, the progress and direction of his conquests, the countries over which they extended, the time of the dissolution of the empire, and of the destruction of its capital. Against well-attested facts, conjecture, founded on likelihoods, has but little weight. The "can it be believed?" "peut on croire," of Voltaire and his followers, is a convenient argument with the ignorant, but has been proved deceitful in instances innumerable; and is, at bottom, but the reasoning of a child, who judges of all things from the very few with which he is acquainted. Facile pronunciant, qui ad pauca respiciunt. Ctesias is believed to have a great mixture of falsehood in his narrative; which is not, therefore, to be rejected wholly, or treated as allegorical fiction. In former times, learned men were much employed in extracting history from fable; in the present, many ingenious authors, by a retrograde progress and perverse industry, have been equally diligent in converting ancient history into mythology, and modern history into romance.

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Euphrates, levied contributions on Syria. His son, Tiglath-Pileser, conquered Damascus, a Syrian city of great antiquity and opulence, slew its king Rezin, and carried the most distinguished portion of his subjects into captivity.[131] During the same expedition, he treated with equal severity the Israelites beyond Jordan, consisting of the Rubenites, the Gaddites, and half-tribe of Manasseh; tearing many of these unhappy men from their kindred and country, and forcibly transplanting them to the banks of the Gozan[132], now Ozan, a river which rising in the central parts of Media, forces its way through the mountains which divide the Medes and Caspians, descends in a full and foaming torrent to the plain of Ghilan, and through this rich and romantic province flows majestically eastward in a navigable course to the great Caspian lake.[133] Nineteen years after Tiglath-Pileser's desolating expedition, his son, Shalmanezer, invaded Israel on this side Jordan, plundered its cities, and carried with him into captivity all such Israelites as were distinguished by their rank in life, their spirit or their ingenuity. Hosea, who reigned over Israel in Sa-

[131] 2 Kings, c. xvi. v. 9.

[132] 1 Chronicles, c. v. v. 26. Conf. Josephus Antiq. l. ix. c. 13.

[133] Olearius and Hanway. Both travellers passed the Gozan and its cataracts 180 miles from the Caspian. It is called Kazilosen in the latest maps: it divides the mountainous chains of Tarem and Elhurtz. Ghilan, through which it flows, is surrounded by mountains, whose sides are covered with valuable timber. The irriguous valleys are perfumed with flowers, and produce the finest fruits, not excepting citrons and oranges. Grapes grow wild in the mountains, and hang from trees in festoons.

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maria, followed the conqueror in chains to Nineveh, while the depopulated Samaritan cities[134] were planted with Assyrian colonies, particularly from the imperial district of Babylonia.[135] Senacherib, who succeeded to Shalmanezer, purposed to treat Judah, as his ancestors had done Israel, and grasped, in his ambitious dreams, not only the whole of Syria, but also Egypt and Ethiopia. In the prosecution of this bold design, he lost his great army, and thereby endangered his old possessions in the East, while he laboured to extend the recent usurpations of his family in the West. With the reign of Senacherib, we first attain the light of circumstantial and concordant history. He is the first king of Assyria mentioned in Scripture, whose name is also preserved in a Greek writer[136]; and his expeditions against Judæa and Egypt are highly interesting both for their incidents and for their consequences. These consequences terminated in the demolition of the great Nineveh, and the establishment of a new empire in the still greater Babylon, whose dominion, though confined by the Medes on the East, extended towards the south and west, over what was destined to be the future region of Saracene, or Arabian power. In ef-

His wars—their important consequences.

[134] The cities chiefly were depopulated as containing the descriptions of persons above specified. Conf. 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. c. xviii. v. 11, 12. and c. xxiv. v. 14. That the removal of the whole people did not take place, appears from Ezra, c. iv. v. 7.

[135] Josephus Antiq. x. 9.

[136] Conf. 2 Kings, c. xviii. and Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141.

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fecting this revolution, scarcely less memorable than either the Macedonian or the Mahommedan conquest, many destructive invasions were made, many bloody battles were fought, and many obstinate sieges were patiently endured on one side, and perseveringly prosecuted on the other. But knowing by name only the actors in those perturbed scenes, their exploits, however important in themselves, glide like a dull dream over the wearied fancy. To remedy this evil, too often experienced by students in ancient history, we must endeavour to obtain some distinct knowledge of the parties at variance, by turning our attention to arts, commerce, and those concomitant labours of peace which furnished the materials of warfare, and which presented tempting objects of ambition, at an interval of six centuries, to the arms first of a Ninus, and then of a Nebuchadnezzar.

Transition to the history of the arts of peace.

War has been called the mother of arts; and from this harsh mother much has been learned.[137] Accordingly a judicious narrative of wars cannot fail to unite many scattered rays of information, not more gratifying to a liberal curiosity, than essential to the just apprehension, and therefore to the right management of national concerns. Yet commerce offers a subject scarcely less fruitful, especially when distant countries, in-

[137] Εκ θεων πεπρωμενον εστι τοις πολεμοις εν ανθρωποις γιγνεσθαι. Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. p. 591. The military philosopher, Xenophon, thus thought war, as useful, fated by the gods: under the lower Greek empire, the philosophical emperor Leo, An. Dom. 900, upbraids the Saracens for holding a similar doctrine. Vid. Leon. Tactica, p. 809.

stead of communicating feebly by their shores, were deeply penetrated by crowded caravans from each other.[138] In this great inland traffick, we shall see the foundations of Asiatic opulence at the æra of the first great monarchy; we shall discover the causes of that abundance, not only of necessaries, but of precious and far-fetched conveniences, which Ninus is said to have met with in many of his eastern conquests; we shall discern how the keen appetite for foreign luxuries occasioned wonderful assiduity in the manufacture of domestic produce; and we shall perceive that those countries, which, through the effect of good management, operating on a soil naturally fertile, were best provided with food, and most enriched with objects of real convenience and use, found no difficulty in procuring the spice of India, the perfumes of Arabia, the amber of Prussia, the gold of Ethiopia, the silver of Spain, and the tin of Britain. These six great articles, which either the universal consent of mankind or the wants peculiar to particular times and places rendered objects of general demand, were, according to the uniform testimony of antiquity, produced most perfectly and most abundantly at the farthest extremities of the commercial world[139]; they were stored up, however, in greatest plenty in places near to its

[138] The troops of Tema and Sheba, or Saba, are renowned in that sacred poetry coeval with, or preceding the most antient history. Job, c. vi. v. 19, Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 781.

[139] Herodot. l. iii. c. 106. and 114.

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centre, and employed or consumed with most profusion in Egypt and Babylonia.[140]

Commercial communication through Asia—its high antiquity proved.

That some kinds of spice, which grow only in the East Indies, were used in Egypt fifteen centuries before Christ, appears from the cinnamon and cassia[141] mixed in the holy oil, that was prepared by the Israelites soon after their delivery from Egyptian bondage. It is also well known that Adel and Yemen, two parallel districts on the western and eastern sides of the Arabian gulph, early availed themselves of the precious metals procured for their drugs, dyes, above all for their frankincense, to purchase such quantities of Indian spices, that the cities near the entrance of the Red Sea were deemed principal emporia[142] of articles indispensible as antiseptics wherever the earth is deluged by periodic rains, inundated by great rivers, and even wherever the ordinary work of agriculture, as happens in many countries of the East, must be accompanied with irrigation. It is impossible to determine when this maritime traffick began, but easier to conjecture by whom it was carried on. From the earliest accounts of Hindostan, its natives appear to have religiously abhorred even a temporary removal from their country[143]; neither curiosity nor interest could tempt them on remote voyages. But very different maxims prevailed among the Sabæans[144], a people in-

[140] Herodot. l. i. & ii. passim. [141] Exodus, c. xxx. v. 23. & 24.
[142] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 778. [143] Arrian, Indic. cap. ix.
[144] These are Homer's well-initiated Ethiopians inhabiting the extremities of the world. Odyss. l. i. v. 25. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 1. and Strabo, l. i. p. 35.

habiting both sides of the Red Sea, and from whom the enterprising Phœnicians were descended.[145] It may be presumed, therefore, that the Sabæans were the chief agents in a trade peculiarly lucrative to themselves, because the spices which they imported were essentially necessary to many nations around them. But does the first transient notice of spice as an article of commerce, warrant the opinion that it was obtained solely or chiefly by sea seventeen centuries before the Christian æra? At this early date, Joseph's brethren were decided as to the mode of exercising their unnatural barbarity, by the appearance of an Arabian caravan, "with their camels from Gilead, bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, and going to carry them down into Egypt."[146] The balm, as well as the myrrh or ladanum, were productions from the neighbourhood of Gilead, a mountainous region inclosing the north-western districts of Palestine, since branches of Gilead extended to the Anti-Libanus.[147] But the spicery named first, as the main article, was never supposed to grow in Palestine, or in Syria, or in any part of Asia on this side the Indus. By what means then had it come to Gilead, so as to be brought down from thence into Egypt? The slightest attention to geography will shew that it could not have been transported from the above-mentioned districts of Adel or Yemen, since, on this supposition,

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[145] See above, pp. 32 & 33. [146] Genesis, c. xxxvii. v. 21. 25.

[147] Galaad Montibus Libani copulatus. Hieronym. in Ezekiel, l. vii. c. 18.

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the Ishmaelites or travelling Arabs who conveyed it, must have pursued a route extravagantly circuitous.[148] Had they come from Adel or Yemen, their direct road to Thebes or Memphis, and other great Egyptian cities, where the spices were to be consumed, lay on the west side of the Arabian gulph, and led through Axum, Meroë, and other Ethiopian stations or staples which will presently be described; not to mention that an article which had found its way to Adel or Yemen by shipping, would naturally have been forwarded to Egypt by the same cheap mode of conveyance. It should seem, therefore, that the spices transported thither from Gilead, seventeen centuries before the Christian æra, bear testimony to an extensive communication through central Asia at that early period.[149] The useful intercourse of nations had taken then even a wider range: the Indo-Scythians extended

[148] Mr. Bruce seems aware of this difficulty when he says, "For reasons not known to us the Israelites went and completed their cargoes at Gilead." Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 19. He maintains, however, the opinion combated in the text, but on no solid ground; for his illusion concerning the vast extent of the maritime commerce between Ethiopia and India at this early period is dispelled by a decisive passage of Strabo, l. ii. p. 115. proving that even under the Ptolemies, when navigation had attained much comparative proficiency, the maritime traffic in spices bore a small proportion to the inland. Conf. Strabo ubi supra, and Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 373. and vol. v. p. 19. Quarto Edit.

[149] In Africa and parts of America far ruder than Asia in the age of Joseph, necessity produces and maintains very extensive commercial communications. See Hearne's Journey, undertaken by order of the Hudson's Bay Company 1769. Conf. African Researches, and Mungo Park's Travels.

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it to many regions beyond the Indus[150]; and the Phœnicians traded with their tempting trinkets to those coasts of Europe[151] where silver, tin, or amber could be obtained in exchange. But the operations of domestic industry and foreign traffic, appear to have been carried on with peculiar activity during the four centuries and a half that elapsed from the warlike Ninus to the rapacious Pull. During that long period, a peaceful succession of eighteen kings of Nineveh allowed a free and uninterrupted intercourse through the Eastern world, so that the reigns of those princes whom historians, delighting only in the splendour of conquest, have degraded into sluggards and voluptuaries, are precisely the worthiest of commendation in the whole endless series of Oriental dynasties.[152]

Egyptian emporia, preceding Abram's journey thither. B.C. 1921.

Among the principal emporia or staples linked together in this commercial chain, we shall find a great uniformity of institutions and manners. The trading cities in Egypt appear to have been the first that were united under one government, and that many centuries before the reign of Ninus in Assyria. This antiquity of their monarchy the Egyptians owed not entirely to their superior civilization, but rather to the nature of

[150] Ælian Hist. Anim. l. iv. c. 6. and Ptolem. Geograph. l. i. c. 11. Conf. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. v. 1080.

[151] Herodot. l. i. c. 1.

[152] This will appear hereafter in examining the commerce of Tyre; a city once concentrating the pursuits of the East and West. The southern route from Assyria to India, by Saranga and Arachosia, should seem, to have been early frequented, and to have been opened anew by Alexander, after he had subdued the predatory nations who interrupted it. Arrian, Indic.

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their country, (the alluvions and valley of the Nile,) which, by its definite boundaries, had a tendency to fall under one sovereign power. To this state it appears to have been reduced when Abram, by command of the Almighty having removed from Ur of the Chaldees to Sichem in the district afterwards called Samaria, was driven by a famine in that neighbourhood with his household and his wife Sarai into Misraim, or Egypt, a kingdom already noted for fertility in grain. The few notices revealed to us[153], are rich in information. Egypt is governed by a sovereign of the common name of Pharoah, a title of pre-eminence like that of Cæsar or Sultan, distinguishing the master of a populous and central kingdom from the petty princes around him, his roving satellites in the Syrian and Libyan deserts. As essentials of grandeur, Pharoah had his palace and his haram with a splendid crowd of courtiers, eager to rise in place by anticipating his commands, and pampering his appetites. Abram being apprehensive that the fairness of Sarai, a native of northern Mesopotamia or Armenia, might provoke the licentious desires of the Egyptians, and expose himself to danger, concerted with his wife, that she should be described as his sister. But this device, contrived to save the life of Abram, had a tendency the more to expose the person of Sarai to disgrace. The nobles of Pharoah recommended her to their sovereign; she was received into the haram; and her supposed

[153] Genesis, c. xii.

brother was, on her account, enriched with cattle and servants, if not magnificent gifts for a great king to bestow, yet most useful presents for a pastoral patriarch to receive. It would be to rob of just praise a prince discreet, even in his despotism, not to add that Pharoah, when he discovered the beautiful Chaldæan to be Abram's wife, restored her, with a kind reproof to her husband[154], and then dismissed both of them in safety with their attendants and effects.

Sacerdotal families in Egypt and Babylonia —their authority supported by specific localities.

The condition of Egypt, as united under one king in the time of Abram, throws back to a very remote antiquity the transactions of the Egyptians before this union, when according to Greek historians, Elephantina, Thebes, Memphis, and other great cities were governed apart, and only connected with each other in commercial intercourse. According to the priests, indeed, ruling over several of those cities, innumerable centuries were assigned to the dominion of the gods[155]; for, in the name of the gods whom they respectively worshipped, various families of priests exercised a jurisdiction revered by their subjects as a real theocracy, analogous to the theocracies[156] of Greece copiously described in the former part of this history. But specific localities gave to the sacerdotal families in Egypt and Babylonia a hold on the mind peculiarly

[154] "Why saidst thou she is my sister; so I might have taken her to me to wife," or better, "have brought it into my thoughts to take her." See Michaelis, Genesis, c. xii. v. 18. & 19.

[155] Herodot. l. ii. Diodor. l. i. passim.

[156] Hist. of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 2. throughout.

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powerful, and a passage of Isocrates, hitherto unnoticed by writers on this subject, affords the best key for unlocking the concealments of Babylonian and Egyptian policy. In a discourse fraught with manly sense, flowing in a vein of the purest Atticism, he tells the Athenians that while "their religious ceremonies were conducted with order and propriety, the influences of the heavens operated without confusion and without terror, uniformly favourable to the labouring of the ground, and the reaping of its fruits." [157] In Egypt and Babylonia, the productions of the earth depended, as elsewhere, on the influences of the Heavens, but depended on them there, in a manner more visible and more striking, than in any other country that belongs to the subject of ancient history. When the hand of the Almighty operates slowly and with unvaried regularity, its action is apt to pass unregarded, though then really the most sublime. But the sudden inundations of the Nile and Euphrates, dispensing alternately the greatest benefits and the greatest mischiefs, are phænomena which no indifference can overlook, which no stupidity can disregard. Great, but without such greatness as is too vast for comprehension, with sufficient constancy to excite expectation, and yet with a degree of instability productive of anxiety and deep interest,

[157] See Isocrates Areopagit. and my Translation of Lysias and Isocrates, p. 475. et seq. "Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." Acts, xiv. 17.

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these palpable and rapid changes on the face of nature could not fail to excite attention, even in the rudest minds, to the causes concerned in such extraordinary and momentous effects. But these important changes in the lower world are visibly connected with the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the revolutions of the heavenly luminaries, which luminaries were on this account early exalted into gods, with various families of priests for their vicegerents and ministers. In Ancient Egypt all professions were hereditary, as they still are in India; and in the former country, the sacerdotal cast had immemorially acquired such pre-eminence[158] in knowledge above the other casts or races, whether shepherds, husbandmen, artificers, or soldiers, that attainments incapable of being measured, were by the many deemed boundless. The Egyptian priests had ascertained the sun's annual course[159]; their year was sidereal, and regulated by Sirius[160], the brightest star of heaven; and they were expert at calculating eclipses of the moon, which, being skilful to foretell, they were believed able to produce. The word in our Bibles rendered "Wizzard[161]" literally and properly denotes a darkener

[158] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 787.

[159] Exodus, c. xii. v. 2. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22.

[160] The theory of Sirius was particularly connected with their rural year, as will be shewn hereafter. Ptolemy has preserved an observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius on the 4th day after the summer solstice, which makes the observation remount to the 2250th year before the Christian æra. Petavii Uranolog. Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 806. and Aristot. Metaphys. l. i. c. 1. p. 806.

[161] Deuteronomy, c. xviii. v. 10.

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of the moon. Can it then be matter of surprise, that those should be thought to hold much confidential intelligence with heavenly powers, who could not only predict but controul their operations, and at will heighten their splendour or deepen their obscurity? Accordingly we find that sacerdotal families, both in Egypt and Babylonia, had reared a fancied theocracy to be administered by themselves, on the foundations of real knowledge in astronomy, and of those imaginary supernatural sciences unalterably connected with it in the East.[162]

Egyptian priests—their attainments.

But the widening sphere of their activity, (I speak particularly of the priests of Egypt,) extended itself to all those occupations and pursuits most conducive to the improvement of society. They were not only conversant with the celestial motions, regulating the rise and inundations of the Nile; they were not only astronomers and seers, but geographers, engineers, architects, and physicians, directors of great undertakings in agriculture, and protectors through the sanctity of their temples, of

[162] The text will be illustrated by the following incident. When Mr. Bruce arrived at Chendi, (near the ancient Meroë, which will be spoken of presently,) he found the people "much alarmed at a phænomenon, which, though it occurs every four years, had by some strange inadvertency, never been observed even in this serene sky. The planet Venus appeared shining with an undiminished light all day. The people flocked to me from all quarters to know what it meant, and when they saw my telescopes and quadrant, could not be persuaded but that the star had become visible by some correspondence and intelligence with me, and for my use." Bruce's Travels, v. iv. p. 531. In China, where opinions are as unalterable as in Ethiopia, the prediction of eclipses still continues to be a powerful engine of government. Staunton's Embassy, v. ii. p. 95.

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that extended commerce which, as the history of all ages attests, necessity will often produce and maintain among remote and barbarous nations.[163] When in the language of antiquity, Egypt passed from the jurisdiction of Gods to that of men[164], her priests did not lose their prerogatives: they were amply endowed with lands[165]: they were perpetual and indispensable counsellors to the king[166]; even the extraordinary merit of Joseph must derive lustre from his marriage into the family of Potipherah[167] priest of On, or Heliopolis; they filled the places of governors and generals as well as those of ministers and judges; in one word, they continued to perform the same functions under earthly sovereigns chosen from their own body, which they had formerly exercised in the name of their heavenly protectors.[168]

Concerning the origin of the sacred families which acted this important part, there is so little historical information, that, in the enquiry from whence they came, I shall neither bewilder myself, nor have the presumption to detain my readers. The priests of Babylonia are traced

[163] Herodot. l. iv. c. 154. to c. 200. Comp. Mungo Park's Travels, African Researches, and Samuel Hearne's Journey with North American Indians, &c. to northern ocean, anno 1769—1772, both inclusive.

[164] Herodot, l. ii. c. 143 & 145. [165] Genesis, c. xlvii. v. 22.

[166] Exodus, c. xix. v. 6. Conf. Diodorus, l. i. c. 29. l. iii. c. 6. and Strabo, l. i. p. 24.

[167] Genesis, c. xli. v. 45.

[168] Ωστε περι μεν Αιγυπτον εδε εξεστι βασιλεα χωρις ἱερατικης αρχειν, &c. Plato in Politic. p. 550. Edit. Ficini. He adds, that a king not belonging to the sacerdotal cast, was a king by force only, not right: a strong proof of what is called in scripture, "the prerogatives of priests," Exodus, c. xix. v. 6.

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with little show of reason to the Chaldæans or Chalybians, of whom we have above spoken; and the priests of Egypt have, with small probability, been derived from Abyssinian Troglodites; a people, as it should seem, that must have been unalterably condemned, by the baneful qualities of their soil and climate, to the same condition of wandering barbarity, in which they are actually found. [169] But though the primitive stock of those venerated priests be unknown, history makes us acquainted with several of their branches or brethren, who preserved, as will be shewn, their hereditary characteristics, down to the bright age of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Their brethren in Ethiopia.

The sandy ocean of Africa contained many ancient wonders in its vast bosom, of which the greatest was Meroë, a broad island, compared in form to a shield [170], between the thirteenth and eighteenth degrees of north latitude, washed on its eastern and western sides respectively, by the Astaboras and the Nile. [171] Its capital, called also Meroë, stood near the site of the modern Chendi [172], was immemorially a great city [173], and so anciently connected with Thebes in Egypt, that the citizens of these places conjunctly [174], each of which was then governed by its own magistrates, built the far-famed temple of Jupiter Hammon, on a rich speck of the leopard's skin [175],

[169] Bruce's Travels, vol. iv. p. 388.
[170] Diodorus, l. i. c. 33.
[171] Bruce's Travels, v. iv. p. 539. Conf. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 9.
[172] Bruce, ibid. Conf. Strabo, l. ii. p. 133. & l. xvii. p. 790.
[173] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 29. [174] Id. l. ii. c. 42.
[175] Εοικυια παρδακει. Strabo, l. ii. p. 130.

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ten days' journey north-west of Thebes, and now clearly proved to be the Oasis of Siwah.[176] The Astaboras, now Takazzé, washing Meroë on the east, is periodically joined by a still more eastern stream flowing from Tigré in Abyssinia, and called Mareb, "the obscure," because it hides itself one part of the year in the sands, afterwards emerging in the rainy season to join the Takazzé.[177] The Nile enclosing Meroë on the west, is, in like manner, joined fourscore miles south of Chendi by the Astapus, a more western river, flowing from remote and unknown sources, and which, as it is very deep, and preserves during the whole year an undiminished stream, deserves to be regarded as surpassing the Abyssinian Nile, both in the mass of its waters, and the length of its course.[178] Of this river Astapus[179], the main component part of the Egyptian Nile, none of the inquisitive antients were able to discover the source, and it has still concealed its head from the curiosity of the moderns.[180]

Meroë, its theocracy and ancient splendour.

Encompassed by watery boundaries so interesting in history, Meroë was celebrated for its profusion of precious metals, and of gems still more

[176] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 577. et seq.

[177] Bruce, v. iv. p. 539.

[178] Conf. Bruce, v. iv. p. 516, and Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 437.

[179] The Astapus is called the White river; the Abyssinian Nile is called the blue river from the comparative clearness of its waters. Bruce, vol. iv. p. 516 & 539.

[180] The Abyssinian sources of the Nile, which Mr. Bruce boasts of as his discovery, had been described by modern missionaries: they were known to the Greeks as will be seen hereafter, in the age of the Ptolemies: and even in that of Herodotus. Vid. l. ii. c. 30, 31.

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precious.[181] It abounded beyond all countries in ebony; and with this valuable wood, it abounds to the present day.[182] In the flourishing age of the Ethiopians, it is said to have been defended by upwards of two hundred thousand soldiers, and enriched by double that number of industrious artizans.[183] But the circumstance, especially deserving regard, is, that it remained a theocracy or sacerdotal government down to the learned age of Ptolemy Philadelphus, when king Ergamenes of Meroë, who had imbibed enough of Greek philosophy to liberate him from cowardly superstition, but too little to teach him either humanity or good policy, massacred[184] the collective body of priests, ministers of the golden temple, who had long and wisely governed both prince and people. Having committed this enormity, the usurper coerced by the arm of power a nation that had been immemorially governed by the mereforce of opinion.[185] Before a revolution thenceforth ruinous to Meroë, that island may be considered as the subsisting model of a government, anciently very prevalent, and which without arms, and with few corporal punishments[186], overawed the

[181] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 821. [182] Bruce, v. iii. p. 651.

[183] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iv. c. 129. [184] Diodorus, l. iii. c. 6.

[185] Diodor. ibid. The kings of Meroë, like the Lamas of Thibet, should seem to have been mere puppets in the hands of the priests. According to Diodorus, they were so completely dependent on them, that at the command of the priests, they were always ready to end their lives.

[186] Ουτε δωλοις ουτε θια: When a Meroite had committed any great crime, the magistrate sent to him the symbol of death; and the

minds of men and concentrated their exertions, taught them to rear temples and form sacred enclosures, haunts indeed of superstition, but seats also of industry and commerce, and which by the labours of peace had adorned many parts of the ancient continent with great cities before the iron age of conquerors and destroyers. In a subsequent part of this work, we shall see other models of sacerdotal government subsisting in Lesser Asia down to the reign of Augustus.

Abyssinian traditions confirmed by history and monuments.

The traditions of the Abyssinians, often of little value in themselves, are corroborated by history and monuments, when they affirm that their capital Axum, and to the south of Axum, Azab or Saba, were anciently renowned for religion and traffick. Both these cities were intimately connected with Meroë, and Meroë itself stood in a similar connection with Thebes in Egypt, since the Thebans and Meroites established conjunctly the colony of Ammonium in Libya. [187] The historical account of this establishment, as well as the near relationship [188] among all those

guilty person retired to a private apartment, and became his own executioner. Diodorus. The Jesuits in Paraguay never exercised over their votaries such unbounded dominion.

[187] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 49.

[188] This relationship asserted in the Abyssinian traditions, (Bruce's Travels, v. i. p. 408, &c.) is often alluded to in Scripture: "Great pain shall be in Ethiopia when the slain shall fall in Egypt." Ezekiel, c. xxx. v. 4. Again, "when a fire is set in Egypt, in that day shall messengers go forth through the dry waste, to make the careless (better the secure) Ethiopians afraid." Ezekiel,

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remote cities, not to mention Elephantina, This, and Memphis, is strongly attested in the uniformity of their still subsisting remains; every where that massive Egyptian style, unrivalled in solidity and durability: huge pillars of stone, roofed with long parallel beams of the same unperishing material; and these either traversed by shorter ones, or placed contiguous to each other, and thus presenting stupendous blocks thirty and sometimes forty feet long.[189] The same relationship is attested in the agreement of Ethiopian and Egyptian hieroglyphics. That mode of writing, which, after the invention of alphabetic characters, came to be confined in Egypt to sacred purposes, still continued to be employed in all ordinary transactions in Ethiopia.[190] This latter country, having preserved its ancient theocratic government, also retained the ancient picture-writing or symbols, which the priests of Thebes and Meroë had found highly useful, not in the affairs only of religion, but in those of common life, particularly in commerce. By casting an eye

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c. xxx. v. 9, in Michaelis' translation. Again, "the labour of Egypt, the merchandise of Ethiopia," &c. Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 14. In describing the armour of the Ethiopians above Egypt, Herodotus says, that their arrows were pointed with a stone, instead of iron, and so hard that they employed it in carving their seals, l. iii. c. 67. Could this stone have been made use of for graving not only the Ethiopian but Egyptian obelisks?

[189] Conf. Pocoke, p. 86. & 92. Browne's Travels, p. 19. et seq. & Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 121. et seq.

[190] Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4.

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on the map of Africa, the reader will perceive that the various cities, above-named, form two distinct chains of staples or stations on opposite sides of the Nubian desert; one northward in the line of Elephantina, Thebes, This, and Memphis; another southward in the line of Meroë, Axum, Assab or Saba. Carriers were not wanting to connect the remotest emporia on opposite sides of the sandy ocean: the troops from Tema and Sheba, Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades, whose commercial expeditions are conspicuous in the earliest records of the East.[191]

According to a justly celebrated Abyssinian traveller, whose information derives peculiar importance from its agreement with that of books which he had never happened to read[192], the Abyssinians immemorially traded, by caravans, through their southern provinces, with countries abounding in gold; and it is worthy of remark, that this commerce on the eastern coast of Africa, was transacted in the same singular

[191] Job, c. vi. v. 19.

[192] This observation was formerly made by me in 1790, in a criticism on Mr. Bruce's Travels, which excited some attention both at home and abroad. The Abyssinian notices concerning their golden commerce, I found confirmed by Agatharchides of Cnidus apud Photium Biblioth. Cod. CCL. This made me search for confirmations in antiquity of other reports prevalent among that people: and the fruit of my researches led into the train of thought which runs through this survey, with regard to the vast extent and high importance of commerce by caravans. The same subject has been since treated at much length, and with great ability in Mr. Heeren's work, intitled, Ideen über die Politik den Verkehr und den Handel, &c. above cited.

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manner[193], afterwards adopted by the Carthaginians in dealing for the same metal on the coasts of the Atlantic. The arrivals, of the Abyssinian caravans and of the Carthaginian ships, were equally announced by great fires; their cargoes were stowed in places which experience suggested to be the fittest for this purpose; the negroes came with their gold-dust, and deposited such a quantity as appeared to be a fair price: if the foreign traders approved that price, the gold was carried away and the merchandise left in exchange: if they thought the valuation too low, the negroes brought more gold; but never carried away the goods, until the price of them had been accepted by their foreign visitants.[194] This dumb traffic subsists between the Libyans and Ethiopians to the present day.[195]

Sabæa.

The countries just spoken of, Egypt and Ethiopia above Egypt, are separated by the Red Sea from Arabia, a vast triangle whose sides are marked by that sea and the Persian gulph, and whose basis is washed by the Indian ocean. The desert regions, towards its centre, resemble the sandy Sahara in corresponding latitudes of Africa. But in many parts nearer to the coast, and particularly at Sabæa[196] on the Red Sea, and Oma-

[193] Herodot. l. iv. c. 196. Conf. Cosm. Indicopleust. apud Montfauc. Nov. Collect. tom. ii.

[194] Herodot. l. iv. c. 796.

[195] Histoire des Voyages, tom. ii. p. 294. and Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 392.

[196] Sabæa, on the eastern side of the Red Sea, nearly corresponds to Yemen.

num [197] on the Persian gulph, Arabia admits the culture of vines and of palm-trees; and, from participating in these ordinary benefits, was naturally viewed by men, as they emerged from the gloom of the neighbouring wilderness, with a delight heightened by contrast, and described with transports stronger and more glowing than the greatest insulated beauty is able to inspire. [198] It was called the "*Happy* Arabia," which epithet Sabæa more particularly deserved as the land of frankincense, an article of inestimable value among nations with whom perfumes were favourite and habitual luxuries, and which, being highly prized by themselves, were offered in vast profusion on the altars of their gods. But the culture of frankincense was not confined to Sabæa, the modern Yemen: it extended to the opposite side of the Arabian gulph, over a territory in Ethiopia now called Adel, five hundred miles in length. Adel and Yemen had their respective capitals known to strangers by the common appellation of Saba; which name, as it prevailed in other parts [199], may be conjectured to signify any great staple of frankincense. This main object of ancient commerce occupied the stationary peasant in its culture, and the travelling shepherd in its transport; and so much abounded on both sides of the Red Sea, that it was sometimes used by the natives for firewood. [200]

[197] The ancient name is still retained in modern Oman.

[198] Ἡ δε Σαβαων ειδαιμονεστατη, &c. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 778.

[199] Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. ii. c. 5. [200] Strabo, ibid.

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Syrian and Phœnician staples.

But another article equally recommended by luxury, and demanded by imperious necessity, was wanting in both Ethiopias, as Adel and Yemen were sometimes called.[201] This article is spice, in all its different kinds, essential as a preservative against putrid maladies in all warm countries, especially those frequently laid under water, either by the natural floods of rivers, or by artificial irrigations for the purposes of tillage. Pepper was conveyed, as we have seen, from India to Egypt by caravans, as early as the age of Joseph. To obtain the same commodity by sea, the Sabæans gradually explored the coasts between the Arabian and Persian gulph; became the first navigators on the Erythræan sea, and thus rendered the two Sabas emporia for the aromatics of the coast of Malabar as well as for the spices of Taprobana or Ceylon; so that the happy Arabia, in addition to its native perfumes, early breathed foreign odours of a still superior quality. The traditions of the Abyssinians concerning the high antiquity of this extensive maritime traffic, receive countenance from important notices in sacred and profane history. When Abram, according to the injunction of the Almighty, migrated from northern Mesopotamia or Armenia to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean sea, he found "the Canaanite already in the land," of whom, in Scriptural language, Sidon is called "the first-born;" in other words, the first colony

[201] Vid. Michaelis ad Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 24.

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planted by Canaanites on the Mediterranean coast. Who those Canaanites, the builders of Sidon, were, we know distinctly from Herodotus. They were the tribe of Sabæans called Homerites; an ingenious people, conversant with astronomy and medicine[202], above all devoted to the culture of their language and of poetry, for which they had competitions and assemblies resembling the four sacred games of Greece.[203] Their name Homerites denotes in Arabic either the palm-tree or the purple colour, and the name Phœnicians, it is well known, has the same double signification in Greek. These Homerites or Phœnicians transported themselves gradually from the happy Arabia or Sabæa, stopping occasionally at various harbours on the Red Sea, from the last of which halting places, called afterwards Phœnicum Oppidum, they travelled northwards to the Mediterranean, and established themselves on that part of the coast which became so famous under the name of Phœnicia, derived from its new inhabitants. The incidents attending this colonization are unknown, but the purpose, for which it was effected, speedily and visibly declared itself in the commercial exertions of the Phœnicians, whose shores, seventeen centuries before Christ, are said to have been covered with ships as with a garment[204]; and

[202] Pocoke, Specileg. Hist. Arab.

[203] Schultens, Præfat. ad Monument. Vetust. Arab.

[204] Genesis, c. xlix. v. 13. which Michaelis translates, "mit schiffen bekleidet." Herodotus, l. i. c. 1. says of the Homerites or Phœnicians, that at their first settlement on the coast of the Mediterranean ἀντικα ναυτιλησι μακρησι επιθεσθαι, &c.

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who, shortly after that period, appear from profane writers, to have exchanged in their markets the metals of Spain and Britain for all the most coveted productions of the East and South.[205] Even before this early date, the migration of Abram above-mentioned points to a subsisting commercial communication between the countries around the Mediterranean Sea and those of Upper Asia. In the age of that patriarch, Damascus already flourished.[206] Emessa or Hems, Epiphania or Hamath, and Hieropolis the temple of the Syrian goddess on the right bank of the Euphrates, were stations or emporia remounting to immemorial antiquity. It should seem, therefore, that travelling traders between Upper and Lower Asia already explored the routes which commerce was destined thenceforward to pursue, and perhaps had discovered those hidden secrets of the wilderness, which enabled them boldly to plunge through the sandy ocean of Palmyra or Tadmor, a station not established, but enlarged and strengthened by Solomon[207], and adorned, under the first successors of Alexander, with those prodigies of architectural magnificence, totally unnoticed by ancient authors, but clearly proclaiming their own story, even in their ruins; ruins still attesting the magnitude of commerce carried on by

[205] Herodot. l. ii. c. 163. l. iii. c. 3. Strabo, l. iii. p. 224. Diodorus, l. iv. c. 17. and Aristot. Opera, vol. i. p. 1163. Compare Gesner de navigationibus extra columnas Herculis, annexed to his edition of Orpheus, and Heeren in his Ideen, &c. above cited.

[206] Genesis, c. xiv. v. 15.

[207] 1 Kings, c. ix. v. 18.

caravans, since to this solely, Palmyra owed its opulence and splendour.

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Babylon, Bactra, and Pessinus, in reference to the three great divisions of Asia.

Having given a general account of the cities round the Red Sea, "works of the wonderful strength of Egypt and Ethiopia[208]," and having surveyed also those in Assyria, which in process of time became still more wonderful, it remains to speak of the marts of traffic and superstition in Ariana and the peninsula of Lesser Asia. In each of these great regions, in the midst of savage ferocity and rude barbarism, the routes of commerce were marked with opulence and elegance: great cities subsisted and flourished, protected through the influence of superstition rather than by the strength of arms; under priestly magistrates "whose eye was their law, and whose tongue was their oracle[209]," warlike Nomades mixed in salutary intercourse with peaceful artizans[210]; and on the shores of the Euxine and Caspian, as well as in the central route before described through Asia, there were many bold and useful undertakings, and many indubitable proofs of very high civilization.[211]

[208] Nahum. c. iii. v. 8. & 9.

[209] On him their second providence they hung,
Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue,
He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food,
Taught to command the fire, controul the flood, &c.
Essay on Man, Epist. ii.

[210] Stephanus de urb. Artic. Asia.

[211] The enterprize, ascribed by Greek mythologists to the Argonauts, of opening a passage for the stagnant waters of the Araxes, and thereby gaining a fine plain and a free navigation to the Caspian, indicates intelligence as well as boldness. Strabo, l. xi. p. 53. The immemorial linen manufactory of the Colchians was considered as

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But as general description, how well soever it may be authenticated, never supersedes, in history, the necessity of particular and precise facts, I shall, in reference to the threefold division above given of Asia, having already spoken of Babylon in Assyria, now give some account of Bactra in Ariana, and of Pessinus in Lesser Asia.

Some account of Bactra,

Bactra is renowned in the middle ages under the name of Balch, as the capital[212] of the warlike kingdom of Khorassan, and the seat of such sullen magnificence as was then not unfrequently displayed by Saracens and Tartars. It enjoyed earlier and fairer fame as the head[213] of a province dismembered from the empire of the Seleucidæ, Syrian successors of Alexander, sixty-nine years after the death of that conqueror, and two hundred and fifty-five years before the Christian æra. In the preceding chapter of this work, we have seen the importance by him ascribed to the intermediate territory between Scythia and India, and the comparatively powerful garrisons which he stationed there. The Greek Theodotus, who commanded in Bactra under Antiochus Theos, threw off his

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a proof of their Egyptian descent. Herodot. l. ii. c. 105. Conf. Strabo, l. xi. p. 498. They were a commercial colony established by the Egyptians on the Euxine.

[212] It was the chief of the four royal residences; to wit, Balk, Herat, Maru, and Neisabour. See D'Herbelot, Artic. Khorassan. The space marked by these cities is a trapezium about the extent of France, and in a finer climate.

[213] Justin, l. xli. c. 4. and Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. & l. xv. p. 686.

allegiance to that prince, and asserted independent sovereignty. From this time forward, Bactra, in the rank of a kingdom, subsisted an hundred and twenty-nine years until the Grecian dynasty was swept away by a resistless torrent of Scythians, flowing from the confines of China into the countries on this side the Jaxartes.[214] Before this sad catastrophe, Bactra acquired under Theodotus, and enjoyed under his five Grecian successors a high degree of splendour as the capital of Ariana, and the commercial rendezvous of nations. Its enterprising traders made themselves masters of various strong-holds in India, and particularly of Pattala, an emporium built, as we have seen, by Alexander at the apex of the Indian Delta; they carried on an extensive and advantageous intercourse with what was then called the kingdom of the Greeks, comprehending Assyria, Syria, and many provinces in Lesser Asia; while their own crowded markets were frequented by powerful caravans from Scythia and India.[215]

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By the brighter lines of comparatively modern history, it seemed fit to restore the dim features of Bactra as it appears on the remote eastern horizon, twelve hundred and thirty years before the Christian æra. At that early period, this city long flourishing as it is represented in arts

[214] Strabo, l. xi. p. 511. De Guignes Mem. sur la Bactriane in Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. xlii. 8vo. edit. The French academician, who derived his notice of the subversion of the Greek kingdom of Bactra from Chinese history, did not know that Strabo's account of that matter perfectly coincided with the annals of China.

[215] Strabo ubi supra, and Bayer de Histor. Reg. Græc. Bactrian.

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and industry, formed one of the most important[216] conquests of Ninus and his Assyrians, when, with the assistance of Arabian Nomades, they established the first great monarchy. Before this æra of war and desolation, Bactra is celebrated in the uniform traditions of Asia[217] and Europe, as the seat of science as well as of commerce, governed by Zoroaster, whom some writers call a king, others a high-priest; doubtless because he united both characters; and to whom all authors of any credit ascribe pre-eminent power, while they concur in assigning to him the most venerable antiquity.[218] His name might be assumed at various times by different teachers among the fire-worshippers, or magi; for this kind of superstition spread from Bactra to Media, and from thence to Persia; it might in particular be usurped by an impostor in the time of Darius Hystaspis, who is said in the wild romances of modern Persia to have reformed the

[216] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 6. and Justin, l. i. c. 1.

[217] The historians of Persia make the foundation of Balk, the city of Zoroaster, remount to the year 3209 before Christ. Conf. D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Article Balk, and Bailli Astronomie Ancienne, p. 354. This is the oldest astronomical æra of any, since that of the Indian monarchy corresponds with the year 3101 before Christ; that of China with the year 2952; and that of both Egypt and Chaldæa with the year 2800. I have no faith, however, in history founded solely on astronomy, whose phænomena may by calculation be extended indefinitely backward as well as forward. My purpose is answered by showing that with regard to the antiquity of Bactra, the traditions of the Orientals concur with better sources of information.

[218] See the authorities collected by Stanley, Oriental Philosophy; by Fabricus, Bibliothec. Græc. l. i. c. 36. p. 243. and in Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 19.

religion of his country, and to have first taught the Persians to worship in temples. But such fables are totally unworthy of regard, since we have the decisive authority of Xenophon, who had viewed the Persians, not merely with the eye of a soldier, that their religion remained the same and unaltered[219] from the age of Cyrus, founder of their dynasty: a cloud of witnesses also attest that the Persians neither worshipped in temples nor ever erected such edifices during the existence of their empire[220]; and the practice of temple-worship they should seem to have adopted slowly and reluctantly, in their humiliated state, through the persuasion or authority of their Grecian conquerors. With the Persian Zerdusht we are not in this early part of history in any manner concerned: but in the Bactrian Zoroaster, whose name bears a reference[221] to his proficiency in astronomy, we recognize a faithful agreement with the picture above given of the Babylonian and Egyptian priesthood; the same attainments in knowledge, and the same application of them; for the maintenance, indeed, of his own authority, but also to the conspicuous benefit of those over whom it was exercised.[222] SECT. II.

The same rank which Bactra held in Ariana, Pessinus appears to have early acquired in Lesser and of Pessinus.

[219] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 204. & p. 238. et seq.

[220] Herodot. l. i. c. 131. Cicero de Leg. l. ii. c. 10. Dinon. apud Clemen. Alexand. in Protrept. p. 56.

[221] Diogen. Laert. in Proem. and Suidas ad Voc.

[222] Hermipp. apud Arnob. advers. Gent. Conf. Strabo, l. i. p. 24.

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Asia.[223] Pessinus stood in the finest plain of Phrygia, which was anciently the most important, as well as largest province in the Peninsula. It was washed by the river Sangarius, and in the near vicinity of the castle and palace of Gordium, revered for its mysterious knot involving the fate of Asia, and which had remained for upwards of a thousand years untied, when it was finally cut by the sword of Alexander.[224] Pessinus was thus situate in a district of high celebrity, and on the great caravan road formerly traced. This road in approaching the sea-coast split into three branches, leading into Mysia, Lydia, and Caria; small but important provinces, which shone in arts and industry many ages before their winding shores were occupied by Grecian colonies. From Lydia, then called Mæonia, Pelops carried into Greece his golden treasures, the source of power[225] to his family in the peninsula to which he communicated the name of Peloponnesus: To the Lydians and Carians, many inventions are ascribed, bespeaking much ingenuity and early civilization.[226] The coast of Mysia was embraced by the venerable kingdom of Priam, the Hellespontian Phrygia; and the more inland Phrygians, who were said to have colonized that maritime district, pretended on grounds, some of them solid, and

[223] Pessinuntem ipsum, sedem domiciliumque matris Deorum; quam reges omnes qui Asiam Europamque tenuerunt, semper summa religione coluerunt. Cicero pro Sextio.

[224] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. i. c. 59.

[225] Thucydides, l. i. p. 6. [226] Herodotus, l. i. c. 94. & 171.

others extremely frivolous[227], to vie in antiquity with the Egyptians themselves. The three nations of Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, were intimately connected with each other by the community of religious rites, as well as by the ties of blood and language. They accordingly exhibited a striking uniformity in manners and pursuits, which, to a reader conversant with Roman history, may be described most briefly by observing, that the principal features of their character are faithfully delineated in the effeminacy, ingenuity, and pompous vanity of the Tuscans, a kindred people, and their reputed descendants.[228]

These industrious and polished but unwarlike inhabitants on the coast of the Ægæan were connected by many links with Upper Asia, but particularly by Pessinus, the ancient capital of the Phrygian kings[229], and at the same time the first and principal sanctuary in those parts of the mother of the gods, thence called the Pessinuntian[230] Goddess, and more frequently the Idæan Mother, Cybelé, Berecynthia, Dindymené, names, all of them, derived from her long established worship on neighbouring mountains.

[227] Herodot. ibid. Conf. Timotheus apud Arnob. advers. Gent. l. v. and Lucretius de Natur. Deor. l. ii. v. 612. et seq.

[228] Herodot. l. i.

[229] Diodor. l. iii. c. 59. Amm. Marcellin. l. xxi.

[230] Εκ τϐ πεσοντος αγαλματος. Herodian, l. i. c. 25. Of that statue, or rather symbol, which descended from heaven, Livy speaks, l. xxix. c. 10, 11. B. C. 205. It was to the Romans then hovering over Asia, what the Gordian knot had been to Alexander: and a religious piece of machinery as easily overthrown by them.

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The festivals of Cybelé are selected in poetical description[231] as among the most showy and magnificent in paganism: and both the commerce and the superstition of Pessinus continued to flourish in vigour, even down to the reign of Augustus.[232] But, in his age, the ministers of the divinity, though they still continued magistrates of the city, had exceedingly declined in opulence and power[233]; and instead of being independent sovereigns with considerable revenues, might be described in modern language in a work less grave than history, as a sort of prince bishops, vassals and mere creatures of Rome. To the west of Pessinus, the city Morena in Mysia, and to the east of it, Morimena, Zela, and Comana, in the great central province of Cappadocia, exhibited institutions exactly similar[234] to each other, and all nearly resembling those of the Phrygian capital. In the Augustan age, all these cities still continued to be governed by sacerdotal families, to which they had been subject from *immemorial*[235] *antiquity:* they all stood on the great caravan road through Lesser Asia; and in all of them the times marked by festivals and processions, were also distinguished by great fairs, not only frequented

[231] Qualis Berecinthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes.
Æneid. vi. 785.

and Lucretius, l. ii. v. 623.
Horrificæ fertur divinæ matris imago, &c.

[232] Strabo, l. xii. p. 574. [233] Id. ibid.
[234] Strabo, l. xi. p. 537. & l. xii. p. 559.
[235] Strabo loc. citat. & l. xiv. p. 672.

by neighbouring nations, but also numerously attended by traders from Upper Asia, and even by distant[236] Nomades. Conformably with these circumstances in their favour, the routes of commerce traced a clear and distinct line of civilization and wealth, thus visibly contrasted with the rudeness and poverty of many remote parts of the peninsula; with the savageness of the Isaurians and Pisidians; with the half-barbarous Bithynians and Paphlagonians[237]; in a word, with all those divisions of the country, which lay beyond the genial influence of commerce upheld by superstition, and of superstition enriched, embellished, and confirmed, by the traffic which it protected. SECT. II.

[236] Strabo loc. cit. and Stephanus de Urb. voc. Ἄσια.

[237] The transactions of all the nations in Lesser Asia, barbarous as well as civilized, are introduced in the following work in connection with the general history of the empire.

SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION III.

Reasons for entering into a more particular Account of the Arts.—These best exemplified among the Egyptians and Phœnicians:—I. *With regard to the Augmentation and Improvement of the Articles of Food.*—II. *The Composition and Embellishment of the Articles of Raiment.*—III. *The Means of procuring solid and secure Habitations.—Egyptian Architecture:*—I. *Temples.*—II. *Mausolea.*—*The Labyrinth and Tomb of Osymandyas.*—III. *Obelisks.*—IV. *Pyramids.*—*Reign of Sesostris.*—*Different Races in Egypt.*—*Senacherib's Invasion.*—*State of Judæa and Egypt at that Period.*—*Greatness of Tarako, the Ethiopian.*—*Destruction of the Assyrian Army.*—*Revolt of the Assyrian Provinces.*—*Nineveh demolished by Cyaxares and Nebopolassar.*—*Babylon the new Capital of Assyria.*—*Jealousy of Necos King of Egypt.*—*He gains the Battle of Megiddo.*—*Invades Mesopotamia, and garrisons Circesium.*—*Nebuchadnezzar associated in Government with his Father Nebopolassar.*—*He forms an Engine of Defence and glorious Victory.*—*Battle of Circesium.*

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Reasons for entering

THE operations of commerce described in the preceding section, being carried on by crowded caravans, are more open to observation, than the

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ing into a more particular account of the arts.

highest efforts of industry and ingenuity in such useful or agreeable arts as are commonly exercised in the privacy of domestic life. When the productions, indeed, of these arts remain, in a tolerably perfect state, they recount impressively their own history; and turn our attention with delight to the energies of those noble minds by whom they were contrived and created. But, when the destructive hand of time has obliterated the works themselves, their authors will be robbed of due praise; and the nations, which nursed and cherished them, will be divested of those characteristic features independently of which, their wars, victories, or defeats, can never become a matter of serious interest with posterity. Here then it is the duty of the historian to interpose his utmost diligence, in collecting all the scattered notices on record, with regard to whatever forms the object of ingenious contrivance or honourable pursuit. From this more intimate acquaintance with remote nations, attention will be awakened to their concerns: real sympathy will be excited for their sufferings; and our fancies, being thus prepared for the scenes exhibited to view, will invest with form, and adorn with colour, the dry and dim skeletons that, in the page of ancient history, shock in perpetual conflicts of unheeded warfare. The discussion also is essential to a distinct survey of the various countries, which, after submitting to the valour of Alexander, were to become the objects of his enlightened policy.

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Nations concerned in the revolution, by which Babylon supplanted Nineveh.

In connection with the rise of Nineveh, and the magnificence of that first great capital of Asia, I had occasion to speak of the high-minded Ninus and Semiramis, with their mixed army of Assyrians and Arabians. But, in the revolution which undermined the power of Nineveh, and caused it to be finally supplanted by Babylon, the city chosen[1] by Alexander for the head of his empire, all those eastern nations are signalised, that derive celebrity either from their prowess or their wisdom. It will be necessary in particular to make known Senacherib the Assyrian, and Tarako the Ethiopian; Belesys, or Nebopolassar, the Babylonian; Arbaces, or Cyaxares[2], the Mede; Necos the enterprising king of Egypt; and Nebuchadnezzar the more adventurous and more renowned king of Babylon. In opposition to the erroneous notions concerning the extent of the ancient Assyrian empire, this king of Babylon will appear to have been the first prince beyond the Euphrates, who consolidated his dominion over Aram on this side the river; that is, the Proper Syria. The same conqueror, as is well known, gained Jerusalem after a siege of eighteen months, and dragged its inhabitants into captivity; he also overcame, after a siege of thirteen years, and totally demolished, the great commercial city of Tyre on the continent, a place infinitely surpassing in magnitude and

[1] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

[2] These names belonged, respectively, to the same persons.

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importance insular Tyre, which succeeded to its name, and which, in the page of history, commonly usurps its renown.

Arts cultivated by those nations best exemplified among the Egyptians and Phœnicians.

In prosecuting the vast subject before me, I shall begin with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, concerning whose institutions and inventions, there are details equally respectable for their authenticity, and instructive by their copiousness. Both nations were dreadful sufferers in the conflict that established a new empire, and raised up a new capital in Asia: both survived their disasters, and became, in the hands of Alexander, principal agents in effecting his noblest and most useful purposes. Egypt, besides, under the brother of that conqueror, the first Ptolemy, acquired and long maintained a decided pre-eminence among all the new Greek kingdoms erected in the East. The regular and connected annals of Egypt will be embodied in subsequent parts of the present work: the observations, which immediately follow, are of a preparatory nature, affording a succinct view of the antiquities of a country, of which, as a Greek kingdom, I shall endeavour to collect a clear and complete history.

Intimate connection formed between Egypt and Greece. Olymp. xxx. 1. B.C. 660.

When the transactions of Egypt first connect themselves with those of Greece, the inheritance of the Pharaohs had fallen into the hands of twelve petty princes, who, like the Beys of modern times, combated each other, and distracted their common country. About the middle of the seventh century before Christ, Psammetichus, one of the twelve, was enabled, through the assist-

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ance of Greek pirates, Ionians and Carians, to crush his competitors, and to assume undivided sovereignty.[3] Having conquered Egypt by Greeks, the gratitude of Psammetichus conspired with good policy, towards establishing his benefactors in camps endowed with lands, on the Pelusiac or eastern branch of the Nile; from which settlement their descendants removed about a century afterwards to the capital Memphis, that they might serve as body[4] guards to king Amasis, another illustrious usurper. From the time of Psammetichus, but especially in the forty-four years of Amasis's reign, the Greeks and Egyptians maintained a closer intimacy with each other, than ever prevailed between any two nations of antiquity, that stood not decidedly in the endearing relations of metropolis and colony. The youths of Egypt were taught the Greek tongue[5]; commerce was industriously cultivated between the two countries; and in perpetual succession of time, the philosophers Pythagoras and Plato[6], the historians Hecatæus[7] and Herodotus[8], with many intervening travellers as studious of knowledge[9] as their trading fellow-citizens were greedy after gain, visited the venerable mother of inventions and of arts, and

[3] Herodot. l. ii. c. 151, 152.

[4] Ibid. l. ii. c. 178. et seq.

[5] Id. ibid.

[6] Diogen. Laert. in Pythagor. et Platon. et Strabo, l. xviii. p. 806.

[7] Hecatæus was a great traveller, and had probably collected the fruits of his travels in the περιηγησει Ασιας mentioned by Stephanus Byzant. de Urb. Voc. Αβαρνος.

[8] Herodot. l. ii. c. 43.

[9] Diodorus, l. i. s. 96.

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endeavoured to disrobe the concealed majesty of religious and civil wisdom, for which the Egyptians had been renowned from the first dawn of tradition. Before entering however under such guides, the palaces and temples and factories of Thebes and Memphis, and from connections that will presently appear, those of Axum, Saba, Nineveh, Bactra, and many other remote cities, it will be prudent to carry with us lights from a more hallowed shrine, to dispel the dark vapour of illusion with which we might otherwise be surrounded.

State of Egypt as illustrated in the story of Joseph. B.C. 1728—1635.

Two centuries after the journey of Abram into Egypt, of which we have already spoken, the simple story of Joseph exhibits a genuine picture of real virtue, more impressive than ever was produced from the mere combinations of fancy. The lovely frankness, it is well known, of the young shepherd, instead of conciliating and rivetting, as it ought to have done, the affections of his brethren, provoked their jealousy and hatred, and subjected him to the misery of being sold to an Arabian caravan, carrying spiceries into Egypt.[10] Through extraordinary endowments bestowed on him by the Almighty, the unhappy slave who had been purchased for twenty shekels of silver[11], was raised to offices and honours, clearly characterising the authority of grand vizier, already introduced, it should

[10] Genesis, c. xxxvii.

[11] The ordinary shekel is valued at half a crown; that, in the time of Joseph, is thought to have been of less weight. Michaelis Anmerk. Genesis, c. xlv. v. 22.

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seem, into this eastern monarchy. Pharaoh surrounded his neck with a golden chain as a badge of dignity, arrayed his body with vestures of fine linen, adorned his hand with his own ring or signet, and made him ride in a chariot appropriate to the man next in place to the king, and who in effect exercised the whole kingly power.[12] In the officers also of the royal household, particularly the captain of the royal guards, entrusted with high criminal jurisdiction, we perceive the still prevalent and unalterable customs of the East; though the slow punishment of a slave for the imputed enormity of tempting the fidelity of his master's wife, indicates a degree of forbearance and caution, a faint ray of civilization, long extinct in all those unhappy countries. Through the whole narrative, there are not any indications of the profusion of precious metals ascribed by profane writers to Egypt at a somewhat later period.[13] The small price paid for the person of Joseph, his single cup of silver, and the three hundred pieces of that metal, which the dispenser of royal munificence bestowed on his beloved Benjamin, affords reason to infer, that the golden treasures of Ethiopia had not yet been ransacked with very successful diligence[14], and that the Phœnicians had not yet

[12] The man who is the Lord of the land spoke roughly to us. Genesis, c. xlii. v. 30. In 1 Maccab. c. ii. v. 53. Joseph is called κυριος τȣ Αιγυπτȣ.

[13] Diodorus Siculus, l. i. sect. 49. et seq.

[14] Agatharchides de Mari Rubro apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 1339. et seq.

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diffused in great abundance the silver of Tarshish or Tartessus over the eastern world.[15]

Revolution in the interval between Joseph and Moses —and state of Egypt at the æra of Jewish emigration. B.C. 1491.

The transactions of Abram and Joseph afford a glimpse of Egypt as united at very early periods, under one great monarchy; but the third and most important view of that country in Scripture, is given at the æra of Hebrew deliverance from Egyptian bondage. The children of Israel had been reduced into that wretched condition under the dynasty of shepherds, accumulated hordes of Ethiopian Nomades, who had invaded and conquered Egypt at a period[16] between the age of Joseph and that of Moses. In this revolution, every thing directly flowed in the ordinary current of oriental transactions. It was, and has always continued, the perpetual misfortune of civilized communities in that division of the world, never to have attained a proficiency in arms, or adopted a style of warfare, qualifying men resident in cities and cultivating sedentary arts, steadily and successfully to resist the occasional irruptions of neighbouring Nomades, to whose undisciplined and headstrong chiefs the conquest of flourishing cities only supplied the means of exasperating, by the irritations of voluptuousness, their precipitate frowardness and native ferocity.

[15] Aristot. de Mirabil. Opera, tom. i. p. 1163. Conf. 1 Maccab. c. viii. v. 3. and Diodorus, l. v. s. 35.

[16] Conf. Exodus, c. i. v. 8. and Herodotus, l. ii. c. 100. The new king, "who knew not Joseph," nor his merits towards the Egyptian nation, well accords with the notices in profane history, concerning the king of a new dynasty.

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Under a prince of this character, known by the common appellation of Pharaoh or Sultan, the Hebrews were subjected to the cruellest and most capricious vexations. In the fertile triangle stretching from a summit at Heliopolis, near the site of the modern Cairo, towards the Mediterranean on one side, and the Red-Sea on the other, the small tribe of Hebrews containing in it only sixty-eight males, had grown to a nation of two millions and a half of souls[17], since the fighting men alone amounted to six hundred thousand, or, according to a nicer computation, to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty persons.[18] To reduce this dangerou multitude of shepherds and soldiers, Pharaoh tasked them with hard labour; he condemned them to provide materials for his vast buildings; and many of them were employed in rearing new and stronger walls round Pithom and Raamses[19], ancient fortresses containing the royal magazines. Another still viler expedient, of which the tyrant made use, to intercept the formidable populousness of the Israelites, was, his cruel order to the midwives to destroy their infant males[20]; a transaction as usually understood, wearing an air of improbability, yet, on a nearer examination, entirely consistent with the cus-

[17] The Israelites inhabited the "best of the land." Genesis, c. xlvii. v. 6., that is, the fittest for pasturage: in which district the Consul Maillet (Descript. de L'Egypte) says, "the grass grows to the height of a man, and so thick that an ox may feed a whole day lying on the ground.

[18] Conf. Exodus, c. 12. v. 37. and Numbers, c. i. v. 46.

[19] Exodus, c. i. v. 11.

[20] Id. c. i. v. 15. et seq.

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toms and institutions of the Egyptians, represented with much uniformity by authors who differ perpetually and widely about their chronology and history. In ancient Egypt, medicine in general, and several of its branches, were distinct and hereditary professions, exercised under precise and severe regulations, for the observance of which by their substitutes, the heads of its different departments were amenable to the magistrates.[21] This explanation will remove our surprise that Pharaoh should have addressed only two midwives, as if two only had been needful in so great a nation; and it gives a natural turn to their excuse for not executing the king's atrocious orders, namely, that the Hebrew women being livelier than the Egyptian, were delivered without the intervention of any public assistants.[22] The extraordinary interpositions of the Almighty, which blasted all the designs of this detestable tyrant, are recorded in that history, with which, from our youth, we are most familiar. But it is worthy of remark, that of the wonderful phænomenon which enabled the Israelites to pass the Red Sea in safety, the memory is preserved in a pagan historian, who authenticates it by reference to a different source of information, even that of the actual inhabitants of the district at the time in which he wrote.[23] It must also be observed that Pha-

[21] Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 2. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 65. & Isocrat. Busirid. Laudat.

[22] Δημιοεργοι.

[23] Conf. Diodorus, l. iii. sect. 40. & Exodus, c. xix. Diodorus wrote in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. He had travelled

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raoh's army, which perished in that sea in his furious pursuit, consisted of chariots and horsemen; because horsemen in the sense of cavalry were not used by the Greeks till eight centuries after this period, that is, five centuries after the war of Troy; and both cavalry and chariots ceased in process of time to be employed by the Egyptians, in consequence of the perpetual intersections of their country by canals, which rendered troops of both kinds altogether unserviceable. [24]

Division of the subject.

The minute intersections of the Delta, doubtless, contributed in Egypt towards agricultural and commercial prosperity. Yet, at the æra of the Jewish emigration, wonderful exertions had been already made, both for multiplying the necessaries of life at home, and for procuring its accommodations from abroad. In treating of the attainments and enjoyments of the Egyptians, I shall consider the three main articles, of food, clothing, and habitation. The last of these will lead me to their ornamental architecture; and this, again, will be found intimately connected with all their noblest discoveries in the arts and sciences. I begin, as necessity requires, with a brief survey of the country.

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into Egypt, and received his information concerning the awful event in the text from Ichthyophagi, inhabiting that part of the coast where it happened. It had been handed down to them by unvarying tradition from their ancestors, that the sea at a certain time dried up to the bottom, and again suddenly returned to its ancient channel.

[24] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 108.

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Egypt described.

From the mouths of the Nile and the Mediterranean, Egypt extended in length five hundred and thirty miles to Syené and the tropic of Cancer, comprehending in its breadth the mountains on both sides the river, as far as the Red Sea on the right, and the sands of Libya on the left. In its utmost dimensions, the country falls short of the extent of Great Britain: yet, before it was ravaged successively by the kings of Nineveh and Babylon, and permanently oppressed by the civil and religious persecution of Cambyses and his Persian successors, its populousness may be fairly estimated at eight millions of industrious inhabitants.[25] To the ancient Cercasorum, a place situate a few miles below the ancient Memphis and the modern Cairo, the Nile flowed in an unbroken stream, then dividing itself into three principal branches, the two outermost of which infold the triangle of Lower Egypt, the fertile Delta. The apex of the triangle at Cercasorum[26] is distant a hundred miles from its base, the waving coast of the Mediterranean; and the sides are the Pelusiac and Canopic branches of the Nile, whose mouths are two hundred miles asunder. Anciently the whole of the Delta was richly cultivated: but tillage is now confined to the inmost district, and to the valley of the Nile, a long strip of land reaching to Syené, generally about twenty miles broad, overflowed yearly by the river, and en-

[25] Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 26. Conf. Diodor. l. i.
[26] Herodot. l. ii. c. 15. & 17.

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riched by its fattening slime.[27] Homer is thought to have pointed to the cause of this annual inundation when he characterizes the Nile, as a river fed by the showers of heaven.[28] Under the Sixth Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor, Agatharchides of Cnidus surveyed Ethiopia above Egypt with the eye of a philosopher, and confirmed the authority of Homer, by describing the incessant rains in Ethiopia from the summer solstice to the autumnal equinox.[29] As early as May, torrents often descend from the Abyssinian mountains, swelling all the rivers of which the Nile is the common receptacle. Their influence reaches Egypt in the middle of June, when the waters visibly accumulate, and, towards the beginning of August, overflow their banks. From the middle of August to the end of October, the Delta wears the appearance of a great lake, its numerous cities peering[30] at intervals above the watery surface, like the Cyclades and Sporades in the broad Ægæan.

Agriculture of the Egyptians. B.C. 1490.

The depositions from this temporary lake form so rich a mould, that the husbandman is exempted from all the more laborious operations of agriculture. Instead of ploughing and harrowing the ground, his industry needs only be

[27] Strabo is never more graphical than in his description of Egypt, l. xvii. p. 786. Compare the moderns, Maillet, Pocoke, Browne. The last-named traveller seems inclined to limit too much the extent of the annual floods. Browne's Travels, p. 352.

[28] Odyss. l. iv. v. 581. as explained by Aristotle in Strabo, l. xvii. p. 790. Conf. Aristot. Meteorol. l. i. c. 14. and Apollonius, Lexicon Homer. voc. διερεες,

[29] Agatharchides apud Diodor. l. i. s. 97.

[30] Herodot. l. ii. c. 97.

exerted on the softer element of water; which being diverted by canals, or scooped by machines, is equally and easily distributed over the adjacent country.[31] In Egypt, the grain sown in the beginning of November ripens in less than five months, and is generally cut down and deposited in granaries before the first of April.[32] During the same season pulse follows grains, and fruits are succeeded by new flowers. In seconding the liberality of nature, man was industrious; and the duty of agricultural industry was enforced by various maxims of religion, particularly the sacred execration denounced against shepherds[33], those tigers as we have seen in war, but drones and sluggards in peace. Tillage, as well as other momentous concerns, continued immemorially under the priestly families, who had of old taught their subjects to drain the marshy Delta, since the smaller mouths of the Nile long bore evident marks of the patient labour which had been necessary to open and maintain them.[34] The building of Memphis is ascribed to Menes, the first individual who, himself a priest, concentrated[35]

[31] D'Anville in his Egypte Ancienne et Moderne, p. 23, &c. computes the cultivable land of Egypt at 2100 square leagues. The land really in tillage does not now exceed twice that number of square miles: yet the Delta alone contains about 10,000 square miles, and was anciently in a state of the highest cultivation. So dreadfully has Egypt been afflicted by tyranny and anarchy.

[32] Plin. N. H. l. xviii. c. 37. Conf. Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, et Relation de Paul Lucas.

[33] Genesis, c. xliii. v. 32. & c. xlvi. v. 34.

[34] Aristot. Meteorol. l. i. c. 14. All the smaller branches of the Nile, he says, were χειροποίητα.

[35] Herodot. l. ii. c. 4. & 99.

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in his own hands the whole priestly authority, which he should seem, however, to have exercised in conformity to the will of his former equals and brethren. From the time of Menes, Memphis continued to be the seat of the Pharaohs; and from the site of that city, near the top of the Delta, its foundation must have been accompanied with contrivances for regulating the Nile's inundation, though the lake Mœris, formed, it is said, for this important use[36], owes its name to a prince who reigned only four generations, that is, a hundred and thirty-two years, before the taking of Troy.

Arts relative to the improvement— I. Of food.

Upwards of three centuries before that important æra, the Egyptians in the time of Moses raised great varieties of grain; wheat, barley, and rye.[37] Their gardens produced a profusion of legumes, cucumbers, and melons[38]: and, though the soil is unfavourable to trees, figs and pomegranates abounded in the days of Moses,[39], and grapes even in those of Joseph.[40] At that early period, however, wine was not an usual beverage. Pharaoh's butler took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup; clearly indicating that the natural juice was drank simply with water, and preferred to fermented liquor in a warm climate, and by a people peculiarly attentive to rules of health.[41] Of beer, which

[36] Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. and Herodot. l. ii. c. 101. & 149. But see Major Rennell's note, Geography of Herodotus, p. 504.

[37] Exodus, c. ix. v. 31, 32. [38] Numbers, c. xi. v. 5.

[39] Numbers, c. xx. v. 5. [40] Genesis, c. xl. v. 9. et seq.

[41] Herodotus, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, and Isocrat. Busirid Laudat.

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appears soon afterwards to have become the common drink of the working classes, I find not any mention in the books of Moses: though the invention of beer, a preparation far more complicated than wine, is assigned[42] to the reign of Osiris, the most venerable of those idols in whose name the Egyptians were long governed by priests, the god's earthly vice-gerents.

As an article of food, the Egyptians should seem to have paid particular attention to fishes. The lake Mœris above-mentioned, about fifty miles south of Memphis, and two hundred miles in circuit, produced twenty-two different kinds, the catching and curing of which employed innumerable hands. From the profits accruing on this branch of industry, a queen of Egypt is said to have received daily the value of two hundred pounds sterling for the expence of her toilet and perfumes.[43] This queen, whose luxury was supplied by the sale of other luxuries, some historians make anterior to Mœris who gave his name to the lake. Let us suppose that the curing of fishes in Egypt was a lucrative traffic fifteen centuries before the Christian æra; at the same time, calling to mind the edict of Charles V. emperor of Germany, an equal number of centuries after that period, for erecting a statue to George Bükel, for his valuable discovery of curing herrings, and we shall be

[42] Diodorus, l. i. s. 15.

[43] Diodorus, l. i. s. 52. Conf. Herodot. l. iii. c. 92.

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ready to conclude with the philosopher that many inventions, even of vulgar use, have been often lost and often recovered.[44]

II. Of clothing.

In procuring materials for clothing, the Egyptians discovered not less ingenuity. The fine vesture in which Joseph was arrayed[45] may be supposed to have consisted of byssus or cotton, since this substance is extracted from a nut, immemorially growing in Egypt, and there formed into raiment.[46] But at the æra of the Jewish emigration, Egypt abounded also with yarn from flax[47]; a manufacture of greater intricacy than that of cotton, since instead of a soft down easily separable from its covering, the tough filaments of flax must be disengaged from the friable and useless wood which they inclose, by maceration in water, and successive manual operations of considerable difficulty. Of the decorations which different stuffs received from dyeing and embroidery, conspicuous proofs appear in the sacerdotal vestments of the Hebrews and the inner hangings of the tabernacle, in which we find not only the simpler employments of those arts, but ingenious complications of them into pieces of exquisite workmanship. Among a profusion of brilliant colours may be discovered the coccus[48] of the Greeks or kermes of the Arabs, the deeper scarlet tint obtained

[44] Aristotle, passim.

[45] Genesis, c. xli. v. 42.

[46] Pollux, Onomastic. vii. 13.

[47] "And the flax was bolled," that is, had risen in stalks. Exodus, c. ix. v. 32.

[48] Κοκκινον διπλουν. Exodus, c. xxv.

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from cochineal[49], and the still richer Tyrian dye from the neck of the Palagea[50]; as the colour, translated blue or violet[51], proceeds from the blacker blood of the Sepia or Cuttle-fish. The cochineal, mentioned in this list, was brought by the Indo-Scythians, of whom we have already spoken, to the great staple of Bactra; there it was purchased by the Assyrian caravans; and, by the routes formerly described[52], brought down from Syria into Egypt. The greater part of this shining dye stopt short, however, in Assyria, to supply the vast manufactories of cloth established successively, as will be seen hereafter, at Babylon and Borsippa.

III. With regard to solid and magnificent dwellings.

But of the three necessaries of life,—food, clothing, and habitation, the last was most magnificently provided for amongst a people, who, in the chain of mountains bordering on the Red Sea, enjoyed invaluable materials for building. In this endless range, for it extends far beyond the straits of Babelmandeb to the unexplored regions of Southern Africa, fine granite and marble were ordinary and little regarded productions: the mountains teem with porphyry, alabaster, and the hardest basalts; and, on their sides towards the Nile, many natural declivities facilitate the conveyance of these rich produc-

[49] Michaelis, from the root of the word, infers that the Hebrews knew cochineal to be the production of an insect. Anmerk. Exodus, c. xxv. v. 4. He might have cited the θηρια ερυθρα ὡσπερ κινναβαρι of Ctesias, Indic. c. xxi.

[50] Plin. N. H. l. ix. c. 36. and Amati de Restitut. Purpurarum, p. 30.

[51] Ταχινθον, Septuagint.

[52] See above, p. 34.

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tions to the water's edge.[53] Of this advantage, the Egyptians availed themselves to rear public monuments unparalleled in solidity and grandeur; among the ruins of which, because no private dwellings appear, it has been rashly concluded that none of great value were ever to be found, and that the habitations of the ancient Egyptians, like those of the present wretched tenants of the soil, consisted of earthen huts, slightly covered with palm-trees.[54] We know, on the contrary, from good authority, that even in Thebes, the first capital of Egypt, many private houses were worthy of that magnificence which shone in public edifices.[55] In early ages, indeed, magnificence, like knowledge, was confined to the few: but exertions in laborious undertakings are never more vigorous or more successful, than when the artful few direct the patient industry of thoughtless and submissive millions.[56]

Egyptian architecture— I. Temples.

The subject of Egyptian architecture naturally divides itself into temples, mausolea, obelisks, and pyramids. The three first mentioned remount to immemorial antiquity: pyramids, as will be seen presently, have a far

[53] Bruce's Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 176. et seq.

[54] Bruce, ibid.

[55] Diodorus, l. i. s. 45. The private houses being lofty, and composed of perishing materials, have totally disappeared: the low massive vaults and temples, the obelisks and pyramids, are stamped with stupendous durability.

[56] The period at which this most perfectly took place is the true age of Anakim; the age not so much of giants as of gigantic undertakings.

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later origin. I begin with temples, which, as above proved, were destined not solely to sacred, but to many important civil purposes. It has been conjectured with some probability, that the tabernacle of the Jews in the wilderness, might give the general outline of Egyptian temples.[57] This venerable sanctuary of worship to the living God, in opposition to the vilest, but, from its associations, the most bewitching idolatry, was merely a portable temple for, as yet, a Nomadic nation.[58] It is described in all its parts with a circumstantial minuteness, which those will most approve, who can best estimate the importance of definite weights and measures to a people just emerging into civil and settled life. According to the sacred penman[59], the tabernacle consisted of an inner structure, which he calls the house; and an outer, which he calls the tent or court. The house was covered with curtains of fine linen; with blue and purple and scarlet. It was ten cubits high and as many broad, supported on acacia pillars, and divided by a veil into two apartments; the one looking towards the east, called the holy place, twenty cubits in length; the other looking towards the west, called the most holy, only ten cubits in length. Both divisions were overhung with fine linen, and this linen was covered externally with camlet or hair cloth, and this hair cloth again shielded by two layers of leather, the one of rams' skins dyed

[57] Spencer in Dissertat. de Tabernac. Origin. p. 660. first edit.
[58] Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. iii. c. 5.
[59] Exodus, c. xxvi. throughout.

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red, the other of badgers' skins. The rams' skins dyed red had already travelled, it should seem, to Egypt from Morocco, and the pillars of Hercules, where they have been manufactured from the remotest antiquity.[60] The badgers' skins formed the outermost covering of all, and were judiciously chosen for completing the whole work, since the Arabs, who make shields and shoes of this substance, boast of the former as musket proof, and are said to undervalue the latter, if they do not last them fifteen years.[61] The holy house, itself a rectangle, was surrounded by a larger rectangle, called by Moses the court or tent; whose two larger sides were hung with curtains of fine linen, an hundred cubits long, and the two shorter sides hung with curtains extending respectively the length of fifty cubits.[62]

The temples of Egypt had three distinct parts, corresponding to the divisions of the tabernacle: that is, the tent, the holy place, and the most holy.[63] The tent of the Hebrews answered to the sacred and solid inclosure of the Egyptians, always distinguished by a marble pavement, about one hundred feet broad, and three or four hundred in length. This magnificent avenue, which the Greeks called Dromos "the course," was ornamented on each side by a row of sphinxes,

[60] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 185. [61] Michaelis ad Exod. c. xxvi.

[62] Exodus, c. xxvii.

[63] The two parts collectively are called νεως; the outer corresponding to the holy place is called προναος; the inner corresponding to the most holy is called σηκος. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 805.

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reposing at the distance of commonly thirty feet asunder.[64] The course led directly to the body of the temple, whose approaches were rendered awful by a long series of lofty and sounding porticoes. The body of the temple consisted of two parts, the larger corresponding to the holy place, and the smaller to the most holy. Both these apartments were enclosed by walls of the same altitude with the temple, and called wings, because they hovered around or embraced that august building, expanding from it on both sides towards the sacred inclosure. These walls or wings were carved with large idols in the hard Tuscan style, or earliest sculpture of Greece.[65]

Their idols.

The Grecian traveller, who thus delineates the general form of Egyptian temples, was astonished to find their sanctuaries or shrines altogether destitute of gods in the human form. Notwithstanding their high attainments in arts and sciences, the Egyptians, indeed, appear to have for ever wallowed in the vilest superstitions, even the grossest of all, that of brute worship. Though they were formed into a nation, as we have seen, from a coalition among the trading towns on the north of the Nubian desert, and from a variety of tribes living by different pursuits, and with a wide diversity of customs and rites, yet this strange mode of idolatry was the grand characteristic of the whole. Such wonderful concurrence in a matter seemingly so extravagant, points to a colonization flowing with

[64] Strabo, ibid.

[65] Id. ibid.

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the Nile from the inland mountains of Africa, where brute worship commonly prevailed, and still continues to prevail [66]; and this suspicion is corroborated by history, which places the first great settlement, or city, at Elephantina, the southern extremity of Egypt; the second at Thebes or Diospolis; and then northwards [67] in succession, at This, or Abydus, Heracleopolis, and Memphis, which last, situate only twenty miles above the apex of the Delta, contained

[66] It is an ingenious conjecture of Warburton's (Divine Legation, B. 4. sect. 4. p. 168.), that brute worship originated in hieroglyphics; in which the figures of animals were employed as representatives of the gods. Yet this conjecture is rather disproved by a wider acquaintance with savage nations. Many Negro tribes, destitute of hieroglyphics, and writing and carving, of any kind, worship animals, nay, reptiles; punishing with death those who hurt them even casually. See Bryan Edwards's Hist. of the West Indies, 4to. edit. vol. ii. p. 77. With a view to confirm his system, Warburton observes that, "the Egyptians also worshipped plants; for plants too were made use of for explaining the history of their gods," p. 167. he cites Juvenal, Satyr. xv.

Felices populi,
Quorum nascuntur in hortis numina,

and, as far as I can discover, no other authority can be cited besides this hasty ebullition of an angry satirist. That the Egyptians derived their animal worship from the interior of Africa is indicated in Scripture. The Hebrews are forbidden in Leviticus, c. xvii. v. 7. "to offer sacrifices to *devils*." Michaelis translates *satyrs*, the largest kind of Apes; and I believe rightly, for I find the superstition of satyr-worship prevailing to an extraordinary degree, in a part of Africa pervaded by exploring detachments of Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, during his memorable invasion of Africa, that will be related in a subsequent part of this work.

[67] The sites of three successive capitals, Thebes, Memphis, and Alexandria, point to the same general conclusion. As we descend in the order of time, Egypt becomes less connected with Ethiopia, and more connected with the Mediterranean. The line of commercial and political connection flowed from south to north.

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the palace of the Pharaohs, though Thebes continued, many centuries after Moses, to surpass the new capital in opulence and magnitude.[68] The building of Memphis and Heliopolis, cities near the top of the Delta, was accompanied with the draining of Lower Egypt, after which useful labour, cities of great note arose in that rich alluvial district: Tanis, Bubastus, Mendes, Sebennytus, Sais, Canopus, the last of which was nearly contiguous to Aboukir, a name familiar and pleasing to British ears, and was a considerable emporium, distinguished by a great annual fair[69], before Alexandria arose in its neighbourhood, the common rendezvous of nations, and queen of the commercial world.

Varieties thereof.

In the principal temples which adorned and protected the innumerable cities of Egypt, there seems to have been a rivalship of hereditary priesthoods; strange diversities of worship, and unaccountable collisions of superstition. Some cities sacrificed sheep, but abstained religiously from goats; others reversed this practice.[70] Some hunted crocodiles, others held that monster in veneration.[71] All of them, however, worshipped the bull, after that emblem of creative power became the god of Memphis, the supreme capital of the kingdom; and all abominated the hog[72], excluding swineherds from

[68] Aristot. Meteor. l. i. c. 14. Conf. Manethon apud Syncell. Chronic.

[69] Aristot. Œconom. Opera, l. ii. p. 509. Edit. du Val.

[70] Herodot. l. ii. c. 42. & 46.

[71] Aristot. Œconom. ubi supra. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 69.

[72] Genesis, c. xlvi. v. 34. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 47. & l. iv. c. 186.

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social communion; doubtless in compliance with the great maxims of the priestly governors of Egypt, to draw their subjects from the idleness of pastoral, to the industry of agricultural, life. Amidst much capricious variety, the genius of polytheism, delineated formerly in reference to ancient Greece[73], remained however unalterable, modelled, indeed, by local circumstances, and fortified in Egypt by the zeal of priests, consisting of distinct races or casts, and actuated by family as well as personal considerations, in extending their credit with the multitude. Although all the Egyptian idols were represented either in the general form, or at least with some prominent characteristic of inferior animals, yet the Greeks easily discovered their own Jupiter at Thebes; their Apollo, at Heliopolis or On; their Vulcan, at Memphis; their Diana, at Bubastus; and at Sais, the blue-eyed goddess their favourite Minerva.[74] All these fanciful images bore a reference to the beneficent powers of nature[75], or rather of its Great Author: they most of them admitted of interpretations, agricultural or astronomical; some of a general kind, others applicable only to the meridian and soil of Egypt. Thus the hawk-headed Osiris denoted either the sun or the Nile[76], two sources of fertility entitled in that country to equal

[73] History of Ancient Greece, chapter ii. throughout.

[74] Herodot. l. ii. passim.

[75] Fragilis et laboriosa mortalitas in partes ista digessit, infirmitatis suæ memor, ut portionibus quisque coleret, quo maxime indigeret Plin. Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 7.

[76] Plutarch de Isid. & Osirid.

honours; and the barking Anubis, for which no parallel was found in the mythology of Greece, signified Sirius[77] or the dog-star, whose heliacal rising warned the longing Egyptians of the Nile's approaching inundation.

Festival at Bubastus.

That great periodical event, which suspended useful labours, was the favourite season for religious festivity. The festival of Diana's temple at Bubastus, continued even in later times, after Egypt had long smarted under Persian oppression, to be celebrated by seven hundred thousand persons[78], whose boats in long order covered the Nile, and whose licentious merriment at every city on their way, dissipated all perception of actual inconveniences in the gladdening prospect of promised abundance.

II. Mausolea.

Near to all the Egyptian cities, the solidity and magnificence of mausolea excited the veneration of natives, and the wonder of strangers. The peculiar pains bestowed in adorning those sepulchral monuments, originated in the belief that the soul still continued after death to be deeply interested in the treatment of its earthly companion[79]; on which account dead bodies were carefully embalmed, that they might be preserved from corruption and deformity. In the neighbourhood of Memphis, the burying-ground was viewed with particular attention by Greek travellers. The numerous sepulchres

[77] In the language of the inhabitants in the Isle of Meroë, Seir still signifies a dog. Bruce's Travels.

[78] Herodot. l. ii. c. 60.

[79] Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. Conf. Servius ad Æneid, iii. 7.

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belonging to that capital, were approached only by one passage, which led to hollow caverns and flowery meadows, to scenes of loathsome desolation and fields of verdant pleasure; and the arrival at such contrarieties of habitation by the same common avenue, the dreary lake of death, is supposed to have given birth to the Greek fables concerning Charon, Acheron, Elysium, and Tartarus.[80] Even the Pyramids in the same neighbourhood, of which we shall speak presently, may be viewed as mausolea under a certain aspect; since, among the Egyptians, who spoke and wrote by metaphors and images, no symbols could be better chosen than those unperishing edifices to express the unalterable stability of the grave.[81] But among all the buildings in Egypt, the labyrinth or sepulchre of the kings, and the tomb of Osymandyas, were regarded by the Greeks as the greatest prodigies both of labour and of skill.

The Labyrinth.

The labyrinth, a few miles south of the lake Mœris, at the city of Crocodiles, afterwards called Arsinoë, is erroneously ascribed to the twelve kings[82] immediately preceding the reign of Psammetichus. This prince began to reign six hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra: but the labyrinth near Arsinoë was imi-

[80] Diodorus, l. i. s. 96. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 123.

[81] Diodorus, l. i. s. 51. says, και τας μεν των ζωντων οικησεις καταλυσεις ονομαζεσι, &c. "The Egyptians called the habitations of the living caravansaries, because they are useful but for a short time; whereas the tombs of the dead they called eternal mansions, because they are to serve us for ever."

[82] See above, p. 133.

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tated by Dædalus of Crete, above twelve centuries before Christ,[83] in an intricate edifice, which he erected in that island, at the expence of the elder Minos.[83] This Egyptian monument is referred therefore with some probability to Mendes, the contemporary of Minos; though our authority for this fact is weakened by the inconsistency of Diodorus, who also assigns for the author of this stupendous piece of architecture, Marus, a prince more ancient than Mendes; and, in another passage, even Menes the supposed founder of the Egyptian monarchy.[84] The work therefore belongs to that early antiquity which produced the boldest exertions of the Egyptians; the subjugation of tho Nile's overflowing tide, the formation of the lake Mœris, the building of Memphis, and the draining by fit channels the marshy Delta. The labyrinth which rivalled those labours, and which Herodotus prizes far beyond the Pyramids, consisted of twelve nearly contiguous courts, roofed with solid marble, and surrounded with white marble peristyles. Of these twelve courts, six faced the north; and other six, the south: the gates of the corresponding courts were opposite to each other, and the whole number was comprehended within one wall of massy stone. This quadrangular inclosure of courts and galleries, whose shortest sides extended a stadium in length, comprehended fifteen hundred dwellings or houses, roofed with different kinds of

[83] Diodorus, l. i. c. 47. et seq. [84] Ibid. c. 96.

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valuable stones, and as many subterranean apartments into which strangers were not allowed to enter, because they were sepulchres of kings and sacred crocodiles.[85] But all, above ground, might be viewed without obstruction, and occasioned in the beholder a pleasing astonishment by the intricacy of the passages from the houses to the courts, and from one court or one house to another, and then to elevated porticoes, each of which was ascended by ninety steps[86], affording, from their open summits, a wide prospect of surrounding fields of marble.

Astronomically explained.

From hints afforded by Strabo[87] and Pliny, it seems improbable that the labyrinth was originally destined for sepulchres. It might appear rather to have been a temple dedicated to the sun, and the seat of political superstition, founded on astronomy. In conformity with this notion, the twelve courts bore a reference to the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the houses above and below ground, denoted the two hemispheres above and below the horizon: the ninety steps by which each portico was ascended, represented the quadrant of a great circle; the winding passages might express the intricate revolutions of the planets; and even the number of three thousand apartments, (fifteen hundred above and as many below ground,) might seem clearly connected with a conclusion of the Egyptian

[85] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 148.
[86] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxvi. c. 13.
[87] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 811.

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astronomers, adopted, it is said[88], by the Greeks, that the precession of the equinoxes advanced a degree of a great circle in the space of one hundred years, and therefore required precisely three thousand years to advance thirty degrees, that is, a whole sign of the zodiac.

That the labyrinth was sometimes employed for interments we have the authority of ancient writers. This destination of it was indicated also by a pyramid two hundred and forty feet high in its neighbourhood.[89] But its connection with astronomy is confirmed by another monument of the same kind, and not less stupendous, in the nome or district of Thebes; and called the tomb of Osymandyas. This structure contained also, besides a sepulchre, courts and porticoes, some of them, instead of pillars, supported by animals twenty-four feet high, and formed from single blocks. The tomb itself presented images of equal durability, being constructed with stones eight cubits long:

This confirmed by the tomb of Osymandyas

[88] Conf. Ficin. in Platon. de Republic. l. x. p. 744. and de Legib. l. iii. p. 803. According to the principles in the text, the Annus Magnus, or Platonic year, will be obtained by multiplying three thousand, expressing the time in which the equinoxes advance one sign, by the number twelve, denoting the twelve signs of the zodiac: the Platonic year will therefore contain thirty-six thousand solar years, which number is precisely what it did contain. But this specious theory is not reconcileable with facts: the precession of the equinoxes is about 50″ yearly, and the secular precession, instead of 1°, is 1° 23′ 45″. The earliest zodiacs all begin with Aries, and the equinox is now thrown back only to the beginning of Pisces, which indicates a period of no more than 2150 years. This subject will be discussed hereafter, in speaking of the Alexandrian school, and the great Hipparchus, who flourished 162 years before Christ.

[89] Herodot. ibid.

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the roof was azure, bespangled with stars; but the colossal figures of Osymandyas and of the females of his family, surpassed every thing most admirable. The statue of the king, in a sitting posture, was formed of the stone called pyropæcilos[90] from the flaming colours with which it blazed. A block of peculiar beauty, without the smallest crack or blemish, had been carefully selected for the material of this huge colossus, whose foot exceeded in length seven cubits. It deserved to be an emblem of the sun, and that it really was such, appeared from the golden circle with which it was encompassed, divided into three hundred and sixty-five cubits, each cubit denoting a corresponding day of the year, and describing in its sculpture the current aspect of the heavens, and the accompanying events on earth, according to the fanciful predictions of Egyptian astrology.[91]

III. & IV. Pyramids and obelisks.

The trite subject of obelisks and pyramids, I shall consider under one view, because the specific distinctions between them have been greatly mistaken by popular writers.[92] They agree in being quadrilateral figures, whose sides point to the four winds of heaven. But the obelisks are pillars of granite of a single piece, from fifty

[90] Diodorus, l. i. c. 47. with Wesselingen's note. Conf. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 8.

[91] Diodorus, l. i. c. 49. Of all our travellers, Paul Lucas alone was believed to have seen this monument, Voyage, vol. ii. p. 119. But Mr. Gibert, Mem. de l'Acad. vol. xxx. p. 241. denies also to him that honour.

[92] Among others by Diderot. See L'Encyclop. Article "Egyptiens."

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to one hundred and eighty feet high; and their perpendicular height measuring nine times the length of one side of their base. The pyramids, on the other hand, are enormous edifices of freestone, (one only is mentioned of brick[93],) whose breadth commonly equals the length of their sloping sides[94], and always exceeds their perpendicular altitude. The obelisks remount to immemorial antiquity, and are found in every part of Egypt. The builders of all the principal pyramids are mentioned as living a little before or after the Trojan war[95]: and these monuments are confined to a particular district, namely, that of Memphis or Memf; to the north-west of which you see the three greater pyramids; and to the south, about threescore smaller ones.[96] The greatest of all the pyramids, according to Herodotus, reached eight hundred feet in height, and contained precisely as many in each side of its quadrangular base. Our most accurate measurements make the base 693 English feet broad, and the sloping sides the same number of feet long, but differences in the account are unavoidable from the perpetually shifting mounds of sand, by which the pyramids are surrounded. These huge masses still bear evident marks of the simple contrivance by which they were raised. They consisted of distinct courses of stone, gradually diminishing as they rose in elevation. Light

[93] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 136. [94] Ibid. l. ii. c. 125.
[95] Ibid. l. ii. passim.
[96] Conf. Pococke, Perry, Greaves, Bruce, Maillet, &c.

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machines of wood, easily manageable, placed on the first or largest course, served to raise the materials necessary for constructing the second, and thus successively until the whole was completed.[97] In several of the pyramids, our travellers have discovered chambers, galleries, and subterraneous cells[98]; such varieties might naturally be expected in sepulchres. The three more enormous masses were raised after the war of Troy[99]; and the first and greatest of the three by Cheops, whose tyrannical reign of forty years commenced shortly after that æra. This unworthy prince was the first native king of Egypt, who, in quitting due reverence for the gods and their ministers, at the same time fearlessly relinquished the maxims of humanity and justice.[100] Through his oppressive government, the public prosperity, long boasted as unalterable, received a fatal shock; his unhappy subjects were impoverished and exhausted by incessant and useless toils, and particularly in raising this gigantic prodigy of architecture, which was completed in twenty years by the uninterrupted exertions of 400,000 men tasked in succession to the odious work.[101] The value of their consumption in radishes, onions, and garlic, was engraved in Egyptian characters on the pyramid, and amounted to sixteen hundred

[97] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 125.

[98] Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 41. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 124.

[99] That is, B. C. 1184, and Cheop's reign commenced 1178, B. C.

[100] Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 124. and Aristot. Politic. l. i. c. 11.

[101] Id. ibid. and Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12.

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talents of silver.[102] How vast then, adds the historian, must have been their expenditure, during the same space of time, in food, clothing, and particularly, in iron implements of labour![103]

Various purposes served by the obelisks.

The obelisks are productions not less wonderful by their difficulty than the pyramids, and far more respectable in their use. When we consider that the obelisks consisted of single blocks of granite, some of them an hundred and fifty, and even an hundred and eighty feet high, and reflect on the successive operations of hewing them unbroken from the quarry, of transporting them safely to the most distant parts of the country, of adorning the hard stone with sculpture, often two inches deep, and rearing such huge pillars into the sky with a precise adjustment of their sides to the four winds of heaven[104], we shall feel a new interest in favour of the Egyptians, as a people who illustrated the utmost extent of the human powers in works unrivalled in their own kind, and whose grandeur is scarcely surpassed in any other.[105] The first obelisks remount to immemorial antiquity; and might serve for gnomons far more perfect than the natural shadows of trees and mountains.[106] They were early prostituted, it has

[102] The Egyptian talent exceeding the Babylonian by twenty minæ, the sum may be estimated at 413,000*l*.

[103] Herodot. ibid.

[104] See Memoir de l'Acad. des Sciences pour 1710, Artic. Eloge de Chazelles.

[105] Plin. N. H. l. xxxvi. c. 9. [106] Plin. ibid.

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been said, to the purposes of superstition.[107] They frequently were used for ornaments to palaces and temples. They might sometimes be employed to convey instruction to the multitude, on moral[108] as well as physical subjects; and they contained in their hieroglyphics a history ambiguous from the nature of the character in which it was written; perhaps hyperbolical in itself, and certainly full of exaggeration, as it was usually interpreted.[109]

Reign of Sesostris. B. C. 1430.

The most celebrated of those exaggerations is the Egyptian account of the reign of Sesostris, which commenced above fourteen centuries before Christ, and is said to have lasted forty years.[110] This great prince appears to have repaired the disasters in Egypt, accompanying the emigration of the Israelites. At the head of a few of his countrymen, enterprising like himself, and of numerous hordes of Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades[111], whom his valour and

[107] Zoega de Origin, &c. Obelisc. and above, p. 151.

[108] This use of obelisks or pillars was adopted in Greece. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. ii. c. 13. Mr. Bruce's notion that the gravings on obelisks contained astronomical observations is well founded: but he contradicts history in confining the use of these gravings to astronomy only. Comp. Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 414, &c. and Diodorus, l. i. c. 56. and Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 60.

[109] Almost every thing said by the ancients or moderns on the subject of obelisks is collected, without distinction, in a folio volume, De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum auctore Georgio Zoega Dano. Romæ, 1747.

[110] Aristotle places Sesostris many years before Minos. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. i. c. 1. Herodotus makes him precede by a century the foundation of the Assyrian empire, 1230 years B. C. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. l. ii. c. 106. and Aristot. Politic. l. vii. c. 10.

[111] Diodor. l. i. c. 53. Conf. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 110.

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generosity attracted to his service, he over-ran and plundered Lesser Asia and Syria [112], in which territories monuments of his victories were shewn after the lapse of a thousand years. [113] Ambitious of every kind of glory, Sesostris overcame the deep-rooted aversion of the Egyptians to a sea-faring life. He encouraged all the arts, erected many temples, strengthened the fortifications of his kingdom; and, after a long and splendid reign, withdrew himself by a voluntary death from blindness and old age, which appeared intolerable calamities to a mind softened by a long and smooth course of unvaried prosperity. [114] On the basis of these facts, several of which are well attested, the Egyptian priests raised a fabulous superstructure, which magnified the actions of Sesostris above the poetical exploits of Hercules and Bacchus. His imaginary trophies were diffused over India and Scythia; the Arabian gulph was navigated with four hundred ships of war; another great fleet commanded the Mediterranean [115]; and his obelisks told, according to the priests, of the hundred myriads [116] of warriors whom he commanded, of the kings whom

[112] Herodotus speaks positively as to his statues in a district of Syria, l. ii. c. 102. & 106.

[113] Herodot. ibid. Strabo makes the duration of his statues in Ethiopia four centuries longer, since he says, "they were shewn there in the age of Augustus," l. xvii. p. 790. Both Strabo and Arrian reject his fabulous expedition into India. Conf. Arriani Indica, c. v. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 686.

[114] Diodor. l. i. s. 54. et seq. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 107. et seq.

[115] Diodor. ibid.

[116] Ἑκατον μυριαδας. Strabo.

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he had dragged in triumph, and of the annual tributes which he levied from the vanquished and inslaved[117] nations of the ancient world. That Egyptian vanity might be flattered in every part of the narrative, the fierce Nomades, whom the same testimony had assigned as the instruments of his victories, were thrown as it were into the back-ground of the fable, and the whole honour is ascribed solely to Sesostris and his Egyptian companions; all born on the same day with himself, carefully trained with him to martial exercises, and of whom seventeen hundred accompanied him in the fortieth year of his age, on his great Indian expedition.[118] But this number, it has justly been observed, implies at least ten thousand births in Egypt on one day; three million six hundred and fifty thousand in one year; and therefore raises the populousness of that kingdom to upwards of sixty millions of souls: a populousness altogether impossible in such a country, and not only unwarranted, but contradicted by all ancient authority.[119] After this remark, it would be trifling with the reader to animadvert on Sesos-

[117] Tacitus, Annal. l. ii. c. 60. In Tacitus, the king's name is Rhamses; but Valesius observes Iste Sesothis (Sesostris) trinominis fuit, teste Manethone. The Egyptian kings, like the Assyrian, had often different names at different periods of their reign. Scaliger ad Euseb. Num. 530.

[118] Diodor. ibid. He reports this, but cannot well be supposed to have believed it; especially after what he had said of the vain lies of the Egyptian priests, l. i. c. 29.

[119] Conf. Diodor. l. i. s. 19. and Josephus de Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 16.

tris's wonderous ship of cedar, four hundred and ninety feet in length, covered externally with gold, and on the inside with silver.[120] His nautical improvements left at least no traces behind them. We hear nothing for many following centuries of Egyptians in the Mediterranean: the navigation of the Arabian gulph was thenceforth left to the nation from whom its name was borrowed; and until the dynasty of Psammetichus raised up, as we have seen, by Greeks, Egypt is never mentioned as possessed of any naval power, or carrying on, by its own ships, any maritime commerce.

Different races of men in Egypt.

Having endeavoured as briefly as possible to describe the antiquities of a country, whose more authentic history will be related in following parts of this work, I shall conclude the present subject by examining whether the ancient Egyptians, of whose ingenuity and intelligence so much has been said, were in reality woolly-headed Negroes. Such an inference has been drawn from an extraordinary passage of Herodotus, in which he alleges their black colour and crisp hair as reasons for believing that the Colchians, inhabiting the eastern shore of the Black Sea, were a colony from Egypt.[121] It is remarkable that the historian himself makes light of these arguments, and considers, as much stronger points, the practice of circumcision common to

[120] Diodor. l. i. c. 57.

[121] Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. The same conclusion has been drawn from monuments, particularly from the Ethiopian features of the celebrated Sphinx. Bruce, Denon, and other travellers.

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the two nations, and their agreement in the same peculiar mode of weaving linen.[122] The fact appears to be, that the Egyptians were a mixed people, that had coalesced into a nation from different casts or families, as their country had grown into a kingdom, from different nomes or districts. Historians, indeed, have sometimes considered these divisions as nice arrangements of legislative wisdom; yet no two authors are agreed as to the number of casts[123] or nomes[124], or as to the different trades or professions respectively exercised in them. Authority, indeed, was not necessary to induce the hardy mountaineers on either side the valley of the Nile, or even the feebler races inhabiting the marshes which bordered on the Delta, both which districts are unfit for tillage, to betake themselves to a pastoral life. In several less fruitful parts on either bank of the river, as well as on the lake Mœris, fishing was the hereditary trade, because it proved the most profitable. The cast of sailors was introduced and maintained through the commercial intercourse on the Nile, easily navigable for upwards of five hundred

[122] Ibid. and c. 105. Their peculiar mode of weaving alludes to what the author says, l. ii. c. 35. that other nations pushed the woof upward, the Egyptians downward: from which Junius de Pictura Veterum, l. i. c. 4. concludes that the Egyptians were the first people who wove sitting.

[123] The great authorities, Herodotus and Diodorus, differ materially. The former, l. i. c. 164. makes seven casts: priests, soldiers, graziers, swine-herds, artificers, interpreters, sailors (meaning watermen on the Nile).

[124] Diodorus says, "Sesotris divided Egypt into thirty-six nomes," l. i. c. 54.

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miles from Syené to the Mediterranean, and in the navigation of which the Egyptian mariners were accustomed to avail themselves of a north wind to surmount the force of the stream in returning to Syené. The trading vessels were called Baris, carrying fifty tons and upwards; they were made of a thorny shrub, and the only ships that could be constructed from native materials in a country equally destitute of wood and iron.[125] Herodotus says, that the cast of interpreters descended from Ionians and Carians first settled in Egypt in the reign of Psammetichus.[126] Yet the patriarch Joseph, a thousand years before the reign of Psammetichus, already spoke by an interpreter to his brethren[127]; and men conversant with different languages could not fail to turn to account this attainment in a country which, at that early period, was the centre of the great caravan commerce between Asia and Africa; and the principal subdivisions of the latter between Libya and Ethiopia.[128] As the Egyptians subsisting by agriculture, by far the most numerous and respectable[129] portion of the community, did not willingly quit their native country, this extended intercourse was carried on chiefly through Arabian and Ethiopian Nomades.[130] With regard to the inhabitants of

[125] Herodot. l. ii. c. 96. [126] Ibid. c. 154.

[127] Genesis, c. xlii. v. 23.

[128] Genesis, c. xxxvii. v. 25. Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 14. Ezekiel, c. xxx. v. 4. & 9.

[129] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 160.

[130] Genesis, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, ubi supra.

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Egypt, it was in some measure a passive commerce, that people producing indeed many of the articles exchanged in it, but patiently waiting till other nations purchased and transported them. Through the excellence of its husbandry, Egypt speedily became the granary of surrounding countries; and from the earliest times, the varied labours of its looms [131] found their way to the markets of Greece, and even to the coasts of the Atlantic. In a country originally peopled by different tribes, and which afterwards long continued to be the conflux of nations from Asia and Africa, with regard to both of which continents it is so peculiarly situate, that ancient historians and geographers hesitated to which of the two it ought in propriety to be assigned, we might naturally expect to meet with a wide diversity of inhabitants, too variously combined for distinct classification. The extremes, however, may be fixed on one hand, in the stout, stubborn, and woolly-headed Ethiopian; and on the other, in the delicate, flexible, and ingenious inhabitant of the Delta: a weak, dark race, with long lank hair, resembling nearly [132] the natives of kindred

[131] Conf. Scylax Peripf. p. 129. and Thucydid. l. i. p. 5. edit. Francofort. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 35. and Isaiah, c. xix. v. 10. The "weberstühle" in Michaelis' translation, agrees with the conjecture from the words of Herodotus, that the Egyptians wove sitting. How could Mr. Bruce in opposition to all authority say, "Solomon decked his bed with coverings of tapestry of Egypt! Egypt had neither silk, nor cotton manufactory, nor even wool; Solomon's coverings, therefore, though he had them from Egypt, were an article of barter with India." Travels, vol. i. p. 118.

[132] Arrian, Indic. Hist. c. vi.

alluvions formed by the Indus and the Ganges.[133] Between these limits, the great intermediate body of the nation appears to have fluctuated; a nation, that with much to recommend it to the attention of posterity, might have deservedly excited a yet deeper interest, had not its improvement been thenceforward rendered stationary, not merely through external causes that will be explained in the following work, but through the difficulties of its hieroglyphical writing and its superstitious abhorrence of innovation. It has the glory, however, of emerging above the ocean of time, as the first regular monarchy described in authentic history; and should the polished kingdoms of Europe ever experience the sad fate that has befallen the far greater eastern continent, when all their noblest monuments had mouldered into dust, the matchless works of the Egyptians would even then survive, and still bear testimony that civilization had once existed in an ancient world.

Connection of this survey.

Under the successors of Alexander, Syria, in its general acceptation, became a kingdom more powerful than Egypt, and the proper Syria contained in it the Hebrews and Phœnicians, the

[133] Juvenal describes them graphically, but ill-naturedly —

Imbelle et inutile vulgus
Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis,
Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere testæ.
Satyr. l. xv. v. 126.

And before

Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aspexit, ridet et odit. v. 70.

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two most interesting nations of Asia. According to my proposed method, I should proceed, therefore, to the description and history of Syria, under which head the arts and commerce of Phœnicia would deserve particular attention, as illustrating the state, not only of that small district, but of many great countries around it, during the six centuries which elapsed from the reign of Ninus to that of Nebuchadnezzar. But, as the Phœnicians had not any share in the transactions which immediately follow in the course of my narrative, and as the Jewish history requires only to be alluded to in a work of this nature, I shall delay my particular survey of Syria, until the invasions and sieges of Nebuchadnezzar naturally direct the reader's curiosity to that country, particularly to the ancient greatness of Tyre; the strenuous industry, bold enterprize, and wonderful attainments of the Phœnicians.

Senacherib's expedition against Judæa and Egypt. B. C. 710.

In deducing the revolutions of the Assyrian empire, we reached firm historic ground with the reign of Senacherib, whose expedition against Judæa and Egypt is highly memorable both in its circumstances and in its consequences. Egypt was then governed by Sabacus, an Ethiopian [134], who had granted his alliance to Israel shortly before the remainder of that nation had been transplanted by Shalmanezer into Media.[135] Judah, however, still confiding in Egyptian aid, refused to surrender its freedom; in consequence of which refusal, Senacherib invaded that district

[134] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 137. [135] See above, p. 96.

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with a vast army. Having over-run the country and taken several fenced cities, he sent his lieutenants to chastise king Hezekiah in Jerusalem, while in person he advanced southward and laid siege to Pelusium, the key to Egypt. No moment could have been chosen with a better prospect of conquering both kingdoms; Judah was then afflicted with epidemic sickness[136], and the once prosperous Egypt had become "the staff of a broken reed piercing the hand that leaned on it."[137] The Nile, which is the source of health as well as wealth to that country, having failed in the former year to bring its watery tribute from Ethiopia, the canals had degenerated into pestilent ditches, and the territory, adjacent to the sea, had been converted into a marine marsh.[138] The labour of the husbandman perished for want of refreshing moisture: famine and despair assailed the fishermen of the Nile, and of the lake Mœris, and the numerous classes of artizans[139] crowding the industrious cities of Thebes and Memphis. The warlike Sabacus, alarmed by religious terrors[140], abdicated the government; and Sethos, high-priest of the Memphian god Phthas, stepped into the vacant throne, with just cunning enough

[136] 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 24. & c. xx. v. 7, 8.

[137] 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 26. [138] Isaiah, c. xix.

[139] Isaiah, c. xix. In the translation of Michaelis before me the "Weberstühle" is conformable to the circumstance which I above-mentioned, that the Greeks wove in a standing posture, whereas the Egyptians sat at their work.

[140] Herodot. l. ii. c. 139.

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to attain power, but without wisdom to exercise it honourably or usefully. His unseasonable rapacity resumed many lands held by military service, about ten acres by each family, and thereby offended the martial casts or clans, at a time when the zeal of this militia was essentially requisite to the public safety.[141] He was obliged, therefore, to throw himself into his frontier strong-hold of Pelusium, with a motley rabble raised on the spur of the occasion, and consisting chiefly of tradesmen and mechanics.

Jerusalem summoned.

Before besieging that key to Egypt, Senacherib had spent a short time in taking Lachis, or Lachish, on the southern frontier of Judæa. While employed in the war there, a detachment was sent to Jerusalem. Its commanders proceeded to the walls of the place, under which they were met by Hezekiah's ministers. The Jews were exhorted to send presents in token of submission to the great king, the master of nations, against whose arm no power on earth or in heaven would defend them. The deputies, consisting of the high steward, the chief judge, and the public secretary, intreated the Assyrian generals to cease from speaking in Hebrew, and to employ their own Syrian dialect, lest their discourse might be understood by the Jewish soldiers on the walls. But Rabshekeh replied in a loud voice, and in the Jews' language, that he had not been sent to the king only, or his ministers, but rather to the people at large, to

[141] Herodot. l. ii. c. 141.

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destroy their vain trust in a contemptible prince and his perfidious counsellors. [142]

The rumour of Tarako's march raises the siege of Pelusium. B.C. 710.

The Jews, according to Hezekiah's command, kept silence; and the Assyrians hastened to give an account of their reception to Senacherib, who, having left the neighbourhood of Lachish, had proceeded to attack Libnah or Pelusium. [143] Into this place Sethos had thrown himself, as we have said, with an inconsiderable and ill-composed army; but was encouraged, as he afterwards gave out, to expect deliverance by a vision from Phthas, whom the Memphians exalted above all gods, and whom the Greeks sadly degraded by transferring to him the name of their own Vulcan, an able artist indeed, but a secondary and even ridiculous divinity. We are not informed of any human or divine means used by the priest Sethos, for repelling or removing the Assyrian assailants. But Senacherib, we know from Scripture, had not lain long before Pelusium, when a rumour reached his camp [144], that totally disconcerted all his measures. A prince called Tirhakoh in Scripture, Tearcho and Taracho by the Greeks [145], had, during the disasters of Egypt, been making great conquests in Ethiopia on both sides of the Red Sea. Availing himself of the caravan roads, through the broad continent of Africa, he had pursued his

Tarako's greatness.

[142] 2 Kings, c. xviii.

[143] Conf. Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 8. Herodot. l. ii. c. 141. Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 1.

[144] Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 7.

[145] Conf. Isaiah, ibid. and Strabo, l. i. p. 61. & l. xv. p. 686.

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victorious career to the shores of the Atlantic, and northwards to the pillars of Hercules.[146] Many Nomadic nations of Ethiopia and Arabia had united under his wide-spreading dominion; and he had already performed more extensive and more difficult journies, than the march which report now ascribed to him, of penetrating through the desert which joins the two cultivated regions of Arabia, namely Sabæa and Omanum[147], and then proceeding from the latter, along the western shore of the Persian gulph, into the rich Babylonian plain[148], and to its capital Nineveh, the proud centre of Assyrian power. Upon learning this alarming piece of intelligence, Senacherib determined to return with all possible expedition to the defence of possessions that formed the strength, the ornament, the rich kernel of his empire.[149]

Agreement of sacred and profane accounts of the destruction of the Assyrians. B.C. 710.

In his way homeward, he once more sent Rabshekeh with a letter to Hezekiah, expressing in that boastful pride which is often a cloak to cowardice, "what the kings of Assyria had done to all lands, by destroying them utterly[150]:" and, as if he had been apprized of the promises made to the Jews by the prophet Isaiah[151], asking in a tone of contemptuous menace, "Did the gods of the nations deliver those whom my

[146] Strabo, ibid. [147] See above, p. 33.

[148] See 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 7. Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 9. with Michaelis' notes.

[149] This part of history is intelligible only on the supposition that Nineveh had the site, which, for reasons above given, I have presumed, contrary to received opinion, to assign to it.

[150] Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 11. [151] 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 7.

fathers destroyed; Gozan, Karan, Rezeph, and the children of Eden who were in Telassar?" Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city of Sephervaim, Henah, and Ivah?[152] The event which terminated Senacherib's expedition is related in the following words:—"The angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and fourscore and five thousand;" the morning shewed to the terrified king and his attendants only a hideous heap of carcases.[153] Of the sudden destruction of the Assyrians, prophane history gives such an account, as, taken in a literal sense, wears the appearance of a childish fable. Herodotus relates, that vast swarms of field-rats gnawed to pieces in one night their bow-strings, quivers, and shield-straps, and thereby leaving his men defenceless, subjected Senacherib to a disgraceful rout.[154] The disastrous fate of their enemies, the Egyptians ascribed to the prayers of king Sethos, of which they alleged, as a convincing proof, the statue of that prince in the Memphian temple of Vulcan, holding a rat in his hand, and with the following memorable inscription:—"Let him who beholds me, learn piety to the gods."[155] In the childishness, however, of this story, we shall perceive the strongest confirmation of the relater's veracity, if we reflect that among the Egyptians, the rat was the hieroglyphic for de-

[152] Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 12, 13, 14.
[153] Id. ibid. v. 36.
[154] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141.
[155] Herodot. ibid. Conf. Isaiah, c. xix. v. 20, 21, 22.

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struction[156]: and that Herodotus, according to the prevalent fashion of his times in relating the history of Egypt, ascribed to the sign, the power of the thing signified.[157] By a far more sublime metaphor, the Jews referred this signal catastrophe of their enemies to divine agency; by which they were accustomed to explain the havoc made by warring elements, the hot pestilential simoum, the swift destroying blast which, in the Asiatic as well as African deserts, often proves fatal, in a single night, to vast multitudes of the human species.[158]

Baladan's letter to Hezekiah.

That the plague was on this occasion the instrument employed by the Almighty for punishing a blood-thirsty king, derives some probability from the prevalence of the malady at that time in Jerusalem. Hezekiah himself appears to have been attacked by its worst[159] symptoms, and was saved from death by the particular interposition of Providence, for which he returned his acknowledgements in the temple on the third day. Of his *sudden* recovery, a circumstance also agreeing with the well-known nature of the plague, a sign had been given by bringing back the shadow ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz; concerning which astronomical

[156] Horopoll. l. i. p. 50. [157] See above, p. 68.

[158] 2 Samuel, c. xxiv. v. 15 & 16. Jeremiah, c. li. v. 1. For the Simoum wind, see Thevenot, and Bruce's Travels, passim, particularly Thevenot, part ii. b. i. c. 20. & b. ii. c. 16. See also Pocockii Specimen. Histor. Arabum, p. 35, &c. and Al Beidawi, cited in Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, p. 8.

[159] 2 Kings, c. xx. v. 7. et seq. It had raged in Samaria a few years before Senacherib's disaster. Josephus, l. ix. c. 14.

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wonder, Baladan, general of the troops belonging to Babylon, and also hereditary chief of the Chaldæan priests[160], the earliest cultivators of astronomy, and comparatively great proficients in that science, might naturally be expected to desire accurate information. To gain this end, he sent a congratulatory letter to Hezekiah on his recovery. The letter was accompanied with presents; and in its superscription, a clear intimation is afforded of the troubles[161] that assailed Assyria in consequence of the disaster of Senacherib. Baladan, who in civil matters had hitherto held only a dependent jurisdiction[162], like many other priestly vassals of whom we have already spoken, assumed the title of king of the Babylonians, in defiance of an odious and disgraced tyrant, from whom, about the same time, the Medes, Armenians, and other great nations, ventured also to revolt.[163]

He assumes the title of king of Babylon. Revolt of the Medes.

At his return to Nineveh, Senacherib could not fail to be provoked at finding the vanity of the rumour which had deceived him. He was enraged to madness at the rebellion of his subjects: but a tyrant after the loss of his army is a serpent without its sting. He vented however his merciless rage against the smaller prey that

Senacherib murdered. B. C. 709.

[160] 2 Kings, c. xx. v. 12. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. c. 24.

[161] "Senacherib's estate was troubled." Tobit. c. i. v. 15.

[162] 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. Senacherib's predecessor appears there as king of Babylon, as well as of Nineveh. Conf. Diodor. ubi supra.

[163] Herodotus, l. i. c. 95. & Moses Choronens, l. i. p. 92.

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he was still able to devour, particularly the Jews in Nineveh[164], whose brethren had occasioned his misfortunes. But in the short space of fifty-five days, he was slain by the conspiracy of his two elder sons, in the temple of his god Nisroth.[165] Their parricide was only useful to the public; for the youngest brother, Esarhaddon, at the unanimous request of the court and country, mounted the vacant throne.

Esarhaddon's glorious reign. B.C. 709—668.

The character of Esarhaddon fully justified the general predilection in his favour. His valour and generosity[166] together with the vast treasures still contained within the palace of Nineveh, speedily supplied him with a new army. We are not informed of the means which he employed, either by war or negociation, for reducing the rebellious provinces. But, from the moment of his elevation, we hear nothing more of an upstart monarchy in Babylon, under a priest who aspired to be the equal of his king.

His invasion of Palestine.

The parricidal brothers of Esarhaddon had fled to Armenia; and, as they are said to have received lands[167] from the king of that country, the rebellious satrap who had fortified himself amidst the mountainous sources of the Euphrates and Araxes[168], must already have assumed the royal title. For recovering the allegiance of

[164] Tobit. c. i. v. 18, 19, 20.

[165] 2 Kings, c. xix. v. 36. & 37. and Moses Choron. ibid.

[166] "The great and noble Asnapper," his name in Ezra, c. iv. v. 10.

[167] Moses Choronens, ibid.

[168] See above.

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Armenia, and the incomparably finer province of Media, Esarhaddon trusted to the renown of his arms in prosecuting the war in which Assyria was already involved with Egypt and Syria. In the latter country, Assyrian garrisons still kept possession of many strong holds; and particularly of Azotus or Ashdod, which had been one of the five capital cities of the Philistines[169], and was the principal key to Syria on the side of Egypt. Tarako, the great Ethiopian, whose name had been terrible in those western[170] countries, was no more; and his resistless Nomadic followers, with the loss of their general and paymaster, lost also their union and discipline, and fell asunder with a rapidity equal to that with which they had been assembled. Sethos reigned in Egypt through the interest of the priests and the favour of the multitude; for his unjust treatment of the soldiers was too provoking ever to be forgiven by them.[171] In this posture of affairs, Esarhaddon directed his arms westward. It should seem that he made a further and considerable transportation of mutinous Israelites[172]; which confirms what has been already observed, that the removal of the whole people from their country had never been intended by the kings of Assyria.[173] The principal *Citizens* had been transplanted, men who might prove dangerous at

[169] 1 Samuel, c. vi. v. 17.
[170] Western in regard of Nineveh and Assyria.
[171] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 141.
[172] Ezra, c. iv. v. 7.
[173] See above, p. 96.

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home by their intrigues, and useful abroad by their skill in arts and adroitness in affairs. But the fields had been still left to the vine-dressers and husbandmen; many of whom now mutinying against a foreign yoke, were forcibly dragged in captivity to the East, and more submissive peasants from the Assyrian territories, particularly Babylon and Cutha, substituted in their vacant fields.[174] Judah was next assailed by Esarhaddon with more decisive success than had yet attended the Assyrian arms in that kingdom. The impious Manasseh, who had strangely degenerated from his father Hezekiah, was defeated in battle, pursued, made captive among the thorns, and carried in fetters to Babylon.[175] But adversity so greatly improved the character of this Jewish king, that he became a new man; and the sincerity of his repentance under the just chastisement of the Almighty, was followed by the peculiar favour of Esarhaddon, who could not fail to discern the advantage that might accrue to his Egyptian expedition from placing a warlike and active prince, bound to him by the highest obligations, in the vassal throne of Palestine. Manasseh was therefore reinstated in the kingdom of Judah, and received in addition that of Israel, holding both

Defeats Manasseh, and accepts him for his vassal.

[174] Prideaux justly observes, that Esarhaddon could not have done this, if he had not been king of Babylon; but he forgets that he had denied Shalmaneser to be king of Babylon, though that prince also planted Samaria with Babylonians. 2 Kings, c. xvii. v. 24. Conf. Old and New Testament connected, B. i. p. 42.

[175] 2 Chronicles, c. xxxiii. v. 11.

countries as homager to the great monarch of Assyria, and transmitting them in that form, after a reign of fifty-five years, to his son the generous and ill-fated Josiah.[176] SECT. III.

His Egyptian expedition.

Of Esarhaddon's Egyptian expedition, which, according to the vulgar estimation of merit, is the main source of his glory, we know only that he sacked the ancient city of Thebes, called in Scripture the populous No[177]; a capital built "by the infinite strength of Egypt and Ethiopia," and celebrated from remote[178] ages for that magnificence which still shines in its ruins.[179] Such an event indicates the deep wounds[180] inflicted on Egypt during the reign of Sethos, in consequence of which that kingdom remained a prey, for twenty years, to divisions and anarchy until the aristocracy of twelve kings not less turbulent than that of the Beys in modern times, devolved into the single hand of Psammetichus.[181]

His firm yet mild government.

The predatory conquest of Egypt only attests Esarhaddon's power; his goodness is illustrated in his behaviour towards the two branches of the Hebrews, whether remaining in their native country, or transplanted to Nineveh and other cities of the East. The atonement which he made to that nation for the cruelties of Senacherib, affords no small proof that his general government united lenity with firmness.[182] It

[176] Chronicles, ibid. and Josephus, Antiq. x. 4.
[177] Nahum. c. iii. v. 8. with Michaelis' notes.
[178] Homer, Iliad, l. ix. v. 382.
[179] Norden's Voyage and Plates, No. 102—113. inclusive.
[180] Isaiah, ibid. [181] Herodot. l. ii. c. 151. et seq.
[182] Tobit, c. i. v. 21, 22. Ezra, c. iv. v. 10.

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must have, been conducted with great ability, since during his long reign we hear little of the troubles of the empire, which began under his father, and which revived with dreadful effect under the government of his son.

His son Nebuchadonosor—war with the Medes. B. C. 667.

Nebuchadonosor, for this is the name or title of the son of Esarhaddon, was involved in an obstinate and bloody war with the Medes. This great nation had immemorially subsisted in many distinct and warlike clans, scattered over the finest province of Upper Asia, each patriarchal tribe inhabiting its populous village, and for the most part fertile valley.[183] The Medes had long sent their proportion of troops and tribute to Nineveh, although a people circumstanced as they were, would be easily tempted to withhold these contributions on every prospect of impunity. The misfortunes of Senacherib formed a crisis favourable for rebellion. The Medes expelled their Assyrian viceroy, and acknowledged no authority but that of their own judges, heads each of his respective tribe, of which that governed by Dejoces was distinguished by its valour and numbers, as was their judge himself by his pre-eminence in wisdom.[184] Through the equity and promptitude of his decisions, Dejoces drew the causes of neighbouring clans to his tribunal, and was chosen king of the Medes

Dejoces king of Media. 700 B. C.

[183] Herodotus, l. i. c. 96. and Strabo, c. xi. p. 520. et seq. The valleys wind into endless length, but seldom exceed ten or fifteen miles in breadth. The soil is excellent, and the means of irrigation abundant. The ruins of towns and aqueducts every where attest the once flourishing state of this much depopulated country.

[184] Herodot. ibid.

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through his ability in exercising one of the most indispensable functions of royal power. We know not by what means he contrived to avoid hostilities with Esarhaddon; but we are informed that the successor of this great prince invaded Media, defeated and slew Dejoces, and sacked his upstart capital of Ecbatana. Phraortes, the son of Dejoces, assuming the command of the Medes, became in turn the aggressor; drove the Assyrians from Media; wrested from them Persis, the proper Persia; and perished in an expedition against Nineveh, the bulwark of their empire.[185] But Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, lived to revenge the death of his father and grandfather on the effeminate son of Nebuchadonosor, the last Assyrian king of the house of Ninus. Before the reign of Agradotus[186], who assumed the name of Cyrus, there was not any prince in Ariana, that is, in any of the countries east of mount Zagros, that equals the historic fame of this illustrious Mede. To Cyaxares his countrymen acknowledged themselves indebted for harmonizing their formerly ill-appointed armies into regular bodies of pikemen, cavalry, and archers. With such improved instruments of victory, he extended his dominions northward to the Euxine and the river Halys, assailed Assyria, now encompassed with his arms, and, though interrupted unseasonably by the hurricane of Scythian invasion[187], resumed his warfare against Nineveh with fresh ardour.

Defeated and slain. B.C. 646.

His son Phraortes slain in besieging Nineveh. B.C. 626.

Cyaxares renews the war.

[185] Herodot. l. i. c. 102.

[186] Strabo, l. xv. p. 729.

[187] See above, p. 60.

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Sardanapalus besieged in Nineveh—his history.

That city and empire was then governed by Sardanapalus, a name coupled in our fancies with the utmost extravagance of effeminacy and profligacy. Amidst the first transactions to which the indolence of this voluptuary gave occasion, we read of an attempt to rifle, by means of a mine that should extend to the heart of his palace, the vast subterranean [188] treasures, which his ancestors had collected from the spoils of vanquished enemies. [189] We next find the revolt of Nebopolassar [190], the hereditary chief of the Chaldæan priests at Babylon, and as such also the hereditary satrap of that important district [191], who seems to have been encouraged by the careless sottishness of Sardanapalus to resume the royal title which his father Baladan had usurped, after the disgraceful defeat of Senacherib. To maintain this independence, the revolted priest, who is described as a person of much cunning and dexterity [192], courted the friendship of Cyaxares, and obtained an alliance with that prince, whose object, issue, and incidents, so perfectly coincide with those of the far-famed conspiracy between Belesys the Babylonian, and Arbaces the Mede [193], that it is impossible, on a careful com-

The history of Nebopolassar and Cyaxares, the same with that of Belesys and Arbaces.

[188] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 150. [189] Isaiah and Nahum, passim.

[190] Euseb. Chronic. p. 46. and Syncell. Chronograph. p. 210.

[191] During the dominion of the house of Ninus over Assyria, the hereditary priests of Babylon maintained a subordinate royalty in that city, agreeing in nature, as we shall see, with the power of the sacerdotal δυναστα in Lesser Asia under the Macedonian and Roman empires. Conf. Strabo, l. xv. p. 557. Diodorus, l. ii. s. 23. and 2 Kings, c. xviii. v. 2.

[192] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 28. [193] Diodorus, ibid.

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parison, not to regard it as one and the same transaction [194]: a transaction ever memorable, since it fulfilled the prophecies against Nineveh, and demolished a great capital, and the most durable empire that ever subsisted in the ancient world.

The seeming contradictions reconciled. Nineveh taken by the Medes. B. C. 606.

In completing the object of his Assyrian warfare, Cyaxares had great difficulties to encounter. The art of attacking fortified places was still extremely imperfect. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, had availed himself of the disorders in the Assyrian empire for gaining Azotus, the principal Assyrian bulwark on the Mediterra-

[194] According to the received chronology, Arbaces and Belesys destroyed Sardanapalus and his capital 820 years before Christ. Strabo and Diodorus speak positively as to the immediate and total destruction of Nineveh ηφανισθη παραχρημα. Yet a century after this pretended demolition, the prophet Nahum denounces against Nineveh the wrath of heaven. See Nahum, c. ii. & c. iii. throughout, and particularly c. iii. v. 8. which ascertains the Chronology. These prophecies, however, confirm Herodotus's account, the more likely in itself to be true, because he wrote a particular history of Assyria, according to which Nineveh was destroyed by Cyaxares and the Medes 606 years before Christ. Herodot. l. i. c. 106. Conf. Tobit, c. xiv. v. 15. and Judith, c. i. v. 16. Of Belesys, whose name usurps the place of Nebopolassar, we know nothing. Prideaux, in his Old and New Testament connected, v. i. p. 2. supposes him to be Nabonassar the first king of Babylon in Ptolemy's canon: But of this first king of Babylon (a high priest most probably who affected kingly power), we have not a single particular in history, except the æra called by his name, agreeing with the year 747 before Christ. Instead of Cyaxares and Nebopolassar, independent princes, we find, indeed, in Ctesias (apud Diodor. l. ii. s. 28.) Arbaces and Belesys revolted satraps. But as such Ctesias would find them represented in the courtly annals of Persia which he copied, if the Persians, as is said, flattered their latter kings as the lineal and perpetual successors of the universal monarchs of Asia. Conf. Daniel, c. ix. and D'Herbelot, Artic. Persis.

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nean, but had conquered the place only through a continued blockade of twenty-nine years[195]: and Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, though a slave to beastly appetites, prepared with the fierceness also of a wild beast to defend his polluted den.[196] At the head of a great army, he is said to have thrice repelled the invaders. But a single defeat reduced him to the cowardly resolution of shutting himself up within his walls; while his forces, still more numerous than those of the enemy, were committed to his general Salaiman, for thus the Greeks wrote the Assyrian name of Shalman or Solyman.[197] The canal joining the Euphrates and Tigris was dyed red[198] with the blood of this general and his army. But Sardanapalus still deemed himself secure in virtue of an ancient prophecy, that the city should not be taken "until it was hostilely assaulted by the river."[199] In the third year of the siege, this ænigma was explained; for the Euphrates, swollen to fury by an unusual contribution of melted snows from Armenia, destroyed a portion of the walls two miles in extent, and Nineveh was reduced "to a pool of water."[200] The despairing tyrant then knew all to be lost: set fire to his palace; and perished in the vast

[195] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 157. [196] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 25.

[197] Id. s. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. i. v. 137. with Michaelis's notes.

[198] Diodor. ibid.

[199] Εαν μη προτερον ὁ ποταμος τη πολει γενηται πολεμιος. Diodorus, l. ii. s. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. ii. v. 6. "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved."

[200] Nahum, c. ii. v. 8. in Michaelis's translation. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 27.

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funeral pile of his empire, with his women and eunuchs, his trinkets and treasures.[201]

Babylon becomes the capital of Assyria. B. C. 605.

The Medes thus became, more decidedly than before, the great dominant nation in the East. But Nebopolassar, their useful ally, was confirmed in the usurped kingdoms of Babylonia; and as Cyaxares, in resentment of his father's death before the walls of Nineveh, totally demolished that capital[202], Babylon, from a seat of commerce, of science, and of superstition, grew into a place of arms, the main bulwark of Assyrian power.[203] The near vicinity of the old and the new capital is clearly indicated in a proposal of the artful priest of Babylon, immediately after the taking of Nineveh. Desirous, it is said, of appropriating the precious metals which he well knew would be found in the ashes of the royal palace, he begged leave (on pretence of a vow made during the dangers of the siege) to transport the huge ruins to the place of his own residence, and his request was immediately granted[204]; a request which must have appeared altogether

[201] Diodor. ibid., Conf. Nahum, c. iii. v. 15. "In thy strongholds or palace shall the fire devour thee."

[202] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. He laboured under the common error with respect to the site of this long-ruined city. Before its total demolition, Nineveh had subsisted six hundred and twenty-four years under thirty-two kings, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, both inclusively. This chronology leaves nearly twenty years for the reign of each king: the commonly received chronology on the other hand, makes the city and empire of Nineveh to have lasted 1312 years, which gives the monstrous average of forty-one years for the reign of each sovereign.

[203] Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. l. i. c. 106.

[204] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 28.

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extravagant, had Nineveh, instead of standing within fifty miles of Babylon, with a canal of communication between them, been situate three hundred miles distant on the eastern side of the Tigris.[205]

Necos king of Egypt. B. C. 616—601.

From the time that the Assyrians carried their conquests to the shores of the Mediterranean, the Egyptians had every thing to fear from their ambition or their vengeance. Psammetichus, the kind of Egypt, who in the last stage of his reign of nearly half a century, had effected the conquest of Azotus, was succeeded by his son, the Pharaoh Nechó of Scripture, and the Necos of Greek historians; a prince of deep policy and daring enterprise. Disdaining the superstitious scruples of his countrymen against a seafaring life, Necos constructed harbours and equipped fleets on the

His bold undertakings — circumnavi-

[205] It is said in Tobit, c. vi. v. i. "And when they set out on their journey" (that is, to go from Nineveh eastward to Ecbatana and Rages) "they came in the evening to the river Tigris." An expression quite natural, if "the city of three days' journey," stood on the royal canal, the Nahrmalka, between the Tigris and Euphrates. In this neighbourhood, Xenophon found, two centuries afterwards, the great city Sitacé, Anabas, l. ji. p. 283.; and Ives describes nearly in the same position, Nimrod's Tower, as it is called, one hundred and twenty-six feet high, and one hundred in diameter. It stands nine miles west of Bagdad; consists of bricks mixed with reeds; and is on all sides surrounded with ruins; circumstances agreeing well with Diodorus's position of Nineveh in his account of the decisive battle, and also with the following words of Herodotus. "Babylonia is like Egypt, perpetually intersected by canals; the greatest, which is navigable for vessels of a large size, joins another river, the Tigris, on which was situate Nineveh," l. i. c. 95. The words naturally bring to mind the Nahrmalka and Bagdad. The expressiveness of Herodotus's style always suggests the notion which he wishes to convey.

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gation of Africa.

Mediterranean and the Red Sea; and applied to the Phœnicians, as the people best skilled in distant navigation, for persons willing to undertake a long voyage of discovery along the African coast. The Phœnicians, who, as already mentioned, had immemorially traded in Egyptian and Assyrian wares [206], had also established factories in those countries, particularly in the cities of Thebes and Memphis, the successive capitals of Egypt; and, according to custom, these factories were under the protection of temples erected in honour of the *foreign* Venus. [207] From among such colonists, or their correspondents, Necos speedily found instruments fit for his purpose. The Phœnicians took their departure from an Egyptian harbour on the Red Sea, reached and passed the straits of Babelmandeb, in the space of forty days; in that of two years sailed round Africa to the pillars of Hercules, and then pursuing their voyage two months longer through the well-known Mediterranean, returned about the middle of the third year into Egypt. [208] The principal danger in this expedition was that of starving on the inhospitable shores of the southern continent. But this difficulty was provided for. Having laid in a sufficient store of seeds, the Phœnicians sowed them at the proper seasons [209]; and as in many parts of

[206] Herodot. l. i. c. 1. [207] Ibid. l. ii. c. 112.

[208] Ibid. l. iv. c. 42. Conf. Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 682.

[209] Σπειρεσκον την γην ινα εκαστοτε, &c. Herodot. ibid.

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Africa, the corn sown in July is reaped in September, the delay in procuring food necessary to the continuance of the voyage, could not be longer than necessary for repairs and refreshments. But should three months be allowed for the stoppage each autumn, full time will remain for the completion of the undertaking within the assigned period, even at the slow rate of ancient navigation. Both the Phœnician and Greek ships seem to have avoided keeping the sea in dark nights; they both advanced at the mean rate of little more than forty British miles daily. But from the nature of their construction, particularly the flatness of their bottoms, which allowed gallies containing two and three hundred men to be easily hauled on shore, they were much better adapted to coasting voyages, than modern vessels of far inferior burden.[210]

Canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean.

Another undertaking by which Necos attempted to signalize his reign, was the drawing of a canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean: a design which Sesostris is thought to have begun, which Necos resumed but abandoned, and which Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second successor of Alexander in Egypt, is said to have happily accomplished.[211]

He marches against Assyria.

But these great enterprises did not prevent Necos from paying due attention to the important revolution, which, instead of an odious

[210] Their expedition accordingly was completely successful. "Thus was Africa for the first time circumnavigated." Herodot. ibid.

[211] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. Of this, more will be said hereafter.

despot dissolved in pleasure, had established in the new capital of Assyria a victorious usurper inflamed by ambition. With great activity of preparation, he collected a numerous army of warlike strangers, and unwarlike Egyptians, and being master of Azotus, the key to the holy land, marched through that country to assail on the Euphrates, the yet unconsolidated power of Nebopolassar and Babylon[212], whose allies the Medes were still fully occupied in extinguishing the embers of the Scythian war. But in the district of Samaria, Necos was encountered[213] by Josiah, king of Israel as well as Judah, in virtue of the grant of Esarhaddon to his grandfather Manasseh, but who, according to oriental maxims above explained, should seem to have considered himself as homager rather to the Assyrian nation, than to the person or family of the king.[214] He passed at least, not only as an obedient, but zealous vassal under the sovereign jurisdiction of Nebopolassar; and with a spirit congenial to the warmth with which he exerted himself for the purity of religious worship, determined to shew fidelity to his lord paramount by resisting the Egyptian invasion. But this generous prince, whose virtues deserved a better fate, was defeated and slain in the plain of Megiddo in Samaria.[215]

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Josiah, in opposing his progress, slain at Megiddo. B.C. 608.

[212] Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. l. x. c. 6.

[213] 2 Kings, c. xxiii. and 2 Chronicles, c. xxxv.

[214] In this manner, Netocris (of whom hereafter) stood in the place of the ancient kings of Assyria. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 106. and c. 185.

[215] 2 Chronicles, c. xxxv. v. 22. and Josephus, l. x. c. 15. Hero-

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Necos takes and garrisons Circesium. B. C. 602.

Necos, without halting to make conquests in Palestine, hastened by rapid marches to northern Mesopotamia, and having repelled the Babylonians, who opposed his passage of the Euphrates at Thapsacus, made himself master of the important city of Carchemish or Circesium[216], on the confluence of the Chaboras with that great river. Having garrisoned a place well situate for facilitating further conquests, he returned in a few months to Palestine, assaulted and took Jerusalem, then known by its eastern name Kadytis "the Holy," deposed the new king whom the Jews had elected, a son of their admired Josiah, and substituted in his stead Jehoiakim, another son of that much-lamented prince, on condition of annual tribute[217] valued at fifty-two thousand pounds sterling.

Renders Jerusalem tributary.

Nebuchadnezzar associated to his father's government.

The rapid success of Necos made Nebopolassar, who was himself *far* advanced in years, associate to his government his son Nebuchadnezzar, a name equally illustrious though not equally terrible in sacred and prophane history, since Greek writers, in the occasional mention of him, prefer his successful valour to that of their greatest heroes.[218] During the

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dotus, l. i. c. 159. says the battle was fought at Magdolus. There is a place of this name in Antonine's Itinerary, distant 12 miles from Pelusium and the Egyptian frontier. It is mentioned under the name of Migdol, Exodus, c. xiv. v. 2. and Jeremiah, c. xlvi. v. 14.

[216] Josephus, Antiq. l. x. c. 6.

[217] 2 Kings, c. xxiii. and 2 Chronicles, c. xxxvi.

[218] Megasthenes apud Joseph. Cont. Apion. Conf. Antiq. Judaic. l. x. c. 11. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 678. He calls him Nauokodrosorus,

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transactions of Necos in Palestine, the young Babylonian had been sharpening a weapon of defence destined to be converted by him into an instrument of decisive victories and invaluable conquests.

He forms an engine of defence in Mesopotamia.—Description of that country.

The wide-spreading region of Mesopotamia, northward of the narrow but rich and populous territory contiguous to Babylon, was sometimes referred by Greek historians to the different countries from which it appeared to have been peopled. The northern parts were frequently called Armenia: the southern were ascribed to Syria; and the great central desert to Arabia. The whole tract of land formed, as it were, a great triangle, whose summit was the narrow isthmus before described; whose sides were the Tigris and Euphrates; and whose base reposed on the chain of mount Masius, its common frontier with Armenia. In the northern division and near vicinity of the mountains, we are already acquainted with the history of Zobah, or Nisibis, a city which was strongly fortified by the first Syrian successor of Alexander under the name of Antioch, and distinguished from other cities of that name by the epithet Mygdonian, from the river Mygdonius which washed its walls.[219] After the destruction of the Grecian kings of the East, Nisibis resumed its old oriental appellation, denoting a military post or place of arms, and as such, was long occupied by the Romans, forming their main bulwark

[219] Πελαγιζων το περι τῳ τειχει χωριον. Julian, Orat. 1. de Nisib. p. 27.

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against the Parthians. Mesopotamia, in approaching the shores of its great rivers, changed suddenly from a desert to a country of considerable fertility, and was early improved by agriculture, and planted with cities, which, being enlarged and adorned by Alexander and his successors, received universally Grecian names, though really of Asiatic origin. Carrhæ, as well as Carchemis, or Circesium, of both which we have already spoken, retained enough of their primitive sound to evince their true extraction; a purer Grecian origin seems indicated in Edessa, Anthemusias, Nicephorium, Apamea, and other places of less note, though many of these also had subsisted at periods long anterior to the Macedonian dominion in Asia.

The Mesopotamian desert.

The watery and mountainous parts of Mesopotamia have undergone many changes, but the dry central region has remained uniformly the same, inhabited by roving Arabs, mixed, as we shall see, occasionally with fiercer wanderers from Scythia. The nature of the country, indeed, admitted of none but Nomades for its masters. It was a vast unvaried plain, destitute of trees and rivers, but abounding in wormwood and other strong-scented shrubs.[220] It produced vast flocks of a bird called Otis, a short and heavy flyer, yet its flesh of the highest flavour; and not smaller troops of ostriches, which, however, it was difficult to catch, so nimbly did they skim the ground, using their wings skilfully as sails to

[220] Xenoph. Anabas, l. i. p. 255. edit. Leuncl.

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navigate the sandy ocean. The most desert spots of Mesopotamia were enlivened by herds of wild goats, and wild asses[221] as they are called by Xenophon, but the animal itself is described by Aristotle[222], and recognized by our naturalists in the Dsiggetai, no longer seen in those southern parts, and now frequent in the remote northern deserts of eastern Tartary.[223] The Dsiggetai outstripped the swiftest horse; but the nimble fugitive was entrapped by gins, or caught by artful and long-continued pursuit.[224] Armenia and other neighbouring provinces had recently been invaded, as we have seen, from Scythia, whose roving hordes still lay in watch, as it were, to renew their ravages in southern Asia. Master of the spoils of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar was possessed of a magnet calculated to attract greater swarms than ever, from this vast northern hive. They were divided into many different tribes often hostile to each other, but the name of Chaldeans was bestowed on all those whom the valour and generosity of Nebuchadnezzar drew into his service, whether because great part of them really descended from that region of Taurus called Chaldæa, whose natives the Chalybeans stood in the same relation as armourers[225] to the Scythians, that the Turks are known afterwards to have borne to

Nebuchadnezzar collects the Scythians who had fled thither.

Why called, generally, Chaldeans.

[221] Xenoph. Anabas, l. i. p. 255. edit. Leuncl.
[222] Histor. Animal. l. vi. c. 36.
[223] Pallas. Neue Nordishe Beytrage.
[224] Xenoph. p. 256.
[225] Xenoph. Anabas, l. v. p. 354. and Strabo, l. xii. p. 549.

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the Tartars[226], or because a colony of those Chalybeans or Chaldæans, about a century before this period, was established in the south-western district of Babylonia, and thereby induced to betake themselves to a settled agricultural life.[227] It might naturally be expected that the great body of the nation would be called by that name already most familiar in southern Asia, and which must have prevailed from the earliest antiquity, since the sacerdotal cast in Babylon, priests of Belus, men of polished manners and high attainments[228], were connected, at least in name, with the rude mountaineers between the Euxine and Caspian, a nation more stubborn than the iron which they forged.[229] That branches of mankind so dissimilar in manners and character, really proceeded from the same stock, history does not warrant us to assert; but there is the surest testimony that the conquering Chaldees, of whom Nebuchadnezzar became general and king, were a northern people, Scythians[230] by blood and country, in their manners, habits, and merciless fury. With this instrument of victory, we shall see him establish at Babylon an empire nearly commensurate in the west and south, with what was destined to be the utmost expansion of Saracen power. The Medes, after the destruction of Nineveh, reigned

Why Nebuchadnezzar little noticed in Greek history.

226 See above, p. 61. Conf. Abulghazi Khan Histor. Geneolog. des Tatars, p. ii. c. 5.

227 Isaiah, c. xxiii. p. 13. Conf. Jeremiah, c. i. v. 13.

228 Diodorus, l. ii. c. 29. et seq. 229 Xenoph. and Strabo, ibid.

230 Jeremiah, c. i. v. 13. & c. xv. v. 12.

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without a rival in the East: and, as their incursions reached the Greek colonies on the Euxine, the name of the Medes, chiefly, is conspicuous in Greek history, while the contemporary renown of Nebuchadnezzar was far more terrible among the Jews, the Phœnicians, and other inhabitants of Syria.

Nebuchadnezzar marches to Circesium. — His army. B. C. 605.

With Cyaxares, or the Medes, through whose co-operation his father had obtained independent sovereignty, Nebuchadnezzar, it should seem, during his reign of forty-five years, had never any hostile collision. His first undertaking was the recovery of Circesium from the Egyptians, an enterprize for which, as Necos had strongly fortified the place, the style of Scythian war might appear to be ill adapted. But Nebuchadnezzar, besides being aided in the siege by his more skilful Babylonians, was one of those extraordinary men, who, like some Tartar conquerors in modern times, have rendered their barbarous followers not less persevering in industry than they are naturally prompt in action: who taught them to build walls and bridges, to construct engines of war; in a word, to perform all those laborious tasks [231], independently of which mere prowess in battle never made a great conqueror. Necos, however, had time to come to the assistance of Circesium with the united strength of his allies; Lybians and Ethiopians, cavalry and chariots, archers and spearmen, all the incongruous assemblage [232] of party-

[231] See Cherefedden's Life of Tamerlane throughout.

[232] Jeremiah, c. xxv. v. 9.

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The battle of Circesium between Nebuchadnezzar and Necos. B.C. 605.

coloured Africa. In the two armies respectively, the fierce Nomades were pre-eminent, Ethiopians and Scythians, hardened offspring of burning sands, and bleak deserts, prepared to join in a merciless conflict, of which the incidents are rather indicated than described, but indicated by symbols more impressive than the most circumstantial narration. The overflowing numbers of the Egyptians are represented by the inundation of their river[233]; when the tide is stayed by Nebuchadnezzar, towering like mount Tabor[234] above the adjacent plain, or Carmel resisting the sea, and bidding defiance to its raging waves.[235] The great dragon of the Nile darts forth with his rattling serpents; but the Chaldæans hew down their wood[236], bare their lurking-places, and render those wily and envenomed monsters an easy prey to the parting steel.

Victory of Nebuchadnezzar.

In this figurative language we discern the ruinous defeat of Necos. Circesium was recovered; the Egyptians were pursued through Syria; their countrymen were expelled from the strong-holds which they had occupied there: and, with the illustrious exceptions of Jerusalem and Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar gained the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the *river of Egypt;* a magnificent name for the shallow torrent of Sihor[237], forming the common boundary of Egypt, Palestine, and the stony Arabia.

[233] Jeremiah, c. xxvi. v. 8. [234] Ibid. v. 18.
[235] Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 3. [236] Jeremiah, c. xlvi. v. 23.
[237] Genesis, c. xv. v. 18. Joshua, c. xv. v. 4. Conf. Hieronym. in Amos, c. vi. 1 Kings, c. viii. v. 65.

SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION IV.

Nebuchadnezzar's extensive Conquests in Africa. — His Invasion of Syria. — Description and History of that Country. — Babylonish Captivity. — Importance of the Jews in Macedonian History. — The two Tyres. — Commercial Connections of the Phœnicians. — Tartessus. — The Casseterides. — Ophir. — Saba. — Political State of the Phœnicians. — Their Manufactures and Inventions. — Destruction of the great Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. — His Invasion of Egypt. — History of the East between the Reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander. — Babylon. — Magnitude, Populousness, Manufactures, Commerce, and Manners.

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Nebuchadnezzar's extensive conquests in Africa.

FROM the æra of Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Necos at Circesium, his reign of nearly half a century was distinguished by a long series of distant invasions, fierce encounters, laborious campaigns, and persevering sieges. Emulous of Tarako the Ethiopian, he spread his dominion over both sides of the Red Sea; rendered Egypt tributary, and pervaded the broad expanse of

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Africa to the pillars of Hercules.[1] In these perpetual expeditions, many a rich temple, the seat of traffic and superstition, fell a prey to his rapacious followers, and to his own unprincipled purpose of decking the new capital of Assyria with the spoils of every strong-hold whose opulence provoked his enmity. But we are informed of the event only, without learning the incidents in this remote and comparatively barbarous warfare. A deeper interest is excited by his invasion of Syria. He is the first prince who reduced into subjection all the various divisions of that country, destined collectively, as we shall see hereafter, to form a powerful Greek kingdom under the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, descendants of Seleucus Nicator the most fortunate of Alexander's captains.

His invasion of Syria.—Prior history of that country.

Long preceding this new dynasty on the banks of the Orontes, the native Syrians had cultivated arts, and attained opulence. They were tributaries to the warlike David, king of Israel; and after the misfortunes of the house of David, they submitted to the kings of Nineveh. The interval between these calamitous æras formed that period of Syrian splendour, in which Hadad and Hazael successive "kings of Syria at Damascus," having obtained a paramount jurisdiction over Jerusalem and neighbouring cities[2], were occasionally employed against them as instruments of divine chastisement.[3] During the

[1] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 637. Conf. Ezekiel, c. xxx. & xxxix.

[2] Comp. 1 Kings, c. xv. v. 20. & c. xxi. v. 1.

[3] 2 Kings, c. xiii. v. 3.

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space of an hundred years, the names of Hadad and Hazael, so terrible to the Hebrews, were proportionally revered by the Syrians, who finally enrolled them among their gods, and continued as such to worship them even down to the reign of the Roman emperor Vespasian.[4] With those brilliant reigns, the glory of Damascus set: the Syrians, sunk in superstition and softness, ceased for ever to be the hunters, and continued thenceforward the unresisting prey; but the Phœnicians, long established on their coasts, and the Jews, possessing part of the inland country, will demand attention in the immediately following, and in many subsequent parts of this work; while at all times the peculiarities and prerogatives of Jerusalem give to it a real importance, surpassing the transient glory of the greatest monarchies. It is fit, therefore, briefly to describe the characteristic features of a country that continued the seat of such interesting nations and the scene of such memorable transactions.

Its geography.

In the whole of its extent of four hundred miles embracing the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, Syria is roughened by snowy mountains, running for the most part parallel to the sea, and to each other, and sending forth innumerable branches, which sometimes terminate

[4] Μεχρι νυν, αυτος τε ὁ Αδαδος και Αζαηλος ὡς θεοι τιμωνται. Josephus, Antiq. l. ix. c. 14. p. 404. Mr. Gibbon, therefore, is mistaken when, in speaking of deification, he says, "the successors of Alexander were the first objects of this impious and servile mode of adulation." Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. c. 3.

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abruptly, but oftener gradually subside into warm and well-watered valleys. Towards the middle of the broad line, Libanus and Anti-Libanus, inclosing the district of Cœlesyria, of which Damascus was the capital, rise to the height of nine thousand feet, an altitude double to that of Benneves the highest mountain in Scotland, but little more than one half the elevation of Mount Blanc, the loftiest in the Alps. The region of Libanus overtopping[5] all the country on either side, separates the waters of Syria, and thereby clearly distinguishes into large and bold groups the divisions of its geography. From the heart[6] of those mountains the Orontes flows northward fifteen days' journey, before it joins the Mediterranean: and about one half that space, the Jordan[7] runs to the south, until it mixes its sweet waters with the bitterness of the lake Asphaltites, called from its pestiferous qualities the Dead Sea.[8] The northern valley of

[5] The highest part of Libanus or Lebanon, is called in Scripture Hermon. This western chain, producing *cedars*, is separated by valleys and rivers from Anti-Libanus, called by the Arabs, Senner, that is, "the mountain of *firs*." Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 5. with Michaelis' notes. How could Mr. Volney in commenting on this word say, "Sennir, peutêtre, le mont Sannine." Volney, Etat Politique de la Syrie, p. 204.

[6] Orontes natus inter Libanum et Anti-Libanum juxta Heliopolim. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 42.

[7] Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 35. He calls the mountain from whence it descends, Paneus.

[8] Mare Mortuum, a quo nihil poterat esse vitale. Hieronym. in Ezekiel, c. xlvii. v. 8. Justin. xxxvi. 3. says, "propter magnitudinem, et aquæ immobilitatem, mare mortuum dicitur." But in this he is mistaken, since the Greeks called it θαλασσα νεκρα, though that epithet is not applied by them to stagnant water. Pausanias, Eliac.

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the Orontes with all the cultivable country inland towards the Euphrates and the desert, was the portion of Syria peculiarly adorned by the Greeks, and named Tetrapolis, from its four principal cities, Seleucia, Laodicea, Apamea, and Antioch. The shorter southern valley of the Jordan, with many adjacent districts on both sides that river, formed Palestinian Syria[9], the Land of Promise. Libanus and Anti-Libanus, overhanging Cœlesyria with their waving forests, formed the lofty inland boundary between the two countries just mentioned; both of which extended at their remote extremities to the Mediterranean, but in their contiguous and more central parts were excluded from that sea, for two hundred miles, by a long line of maritime cities, composing the Phœnician confederacy. Such were the divisions of a territory, inhabited by Syrians in the north, and Jews in the south, both considered as inland nations in comparison with the Phœnicians, who held possession of the more useful part of the coast, and of the only considerable harbours which subsisted in the country before the Macedonian conquest.

Inhabitants.

The Syrians had been long inured to the yoke of Nineveh, and fashioned to that softness and

[9] The expression "Syrian Palestine," or Syria of Palestine, is improper; because it implies, that Syria belongs to Palestine, and not (which is the truth) that Palestine is a part of Syria. The Greeks said "Palestinian Syria," as they did Cœle Syria, Commagenian Syria, &c. Herodotus, l. i. p. 105. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 25. But in the phrase Παλαιστινη Συρια, the latter word seemed the fitter epithet on account of its termination; which has occasioned the universal error of translators.

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servitude, which made them easily admit the succeeding yoke of Babylon. The Phœnicians[10] as well as Jews had smarted under the scourge of the former tyrannical capital: and, as both nations were united in their highest prosperity, under the glorious reigns of David and Solomon, zealous and unalterable allies to Hiram king of Tyre[11], so both were levelled by Nebuchadnezzar in seemingly inextricable calamity.

Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar. B. C. 605.

Shortly after that prince defeated the Egyptians at Circesium, he besieged and took Jerusalem, made king Jehoiakim his prisoner, despoiled the temple of some of its richest ornaments, and carried into captivity to Babylon, the fairest and most intelligent youths of noble descent, to be instructed for three years in the language and learning of the Chaldæan priests, that they might be fitted to serve the king and stand in his presence.[12] From this event, historians date the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, though the misfortunes of that people did not receive their completion until eighteen years afterwards, when the temple was burned, the city desolated and demolished, and the vassal king Zedekiah dragged away in fetters, with all those of his subjects, deemed dangerous at home, or qualified to prove useful abroad to their new master.[13] None but

Completion of its calamities.

[10] Josephus, Antiq. Judiac. l. ix. c. 14.

[11] Conf. 2 Samuel, c. v. v. 11. and 1 Kings, c. v. v. 8. B. C. 1048—1014.

[12] Daniel, c. i. 2 Kings, c. xxiv. 2 Chronicles, c. xxxvi.

[13] Conf. 2 Kings, c. xxiv. v. 14. & c. xxv. v. 11, 12. and Jeremiah, c. lii.

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miserable peasants were left in the land; which remained during fifty-two years in the condition of a great farm under the stewards of Nebuchadnezzar. The meaner classes of men, still left behind in Palestine, were the less likely to create jealousy, because in the former transplantation of the ten tribes, the place of expatriated Israelites had been supplied by Cuthæans, strangers from the East [14], who, having partially joined with the natives in incongruous rites and manners, formed with them the mixed and mungrel nation of Samaritans; a nation held heathenish by the Jews, though treated as Jews by the heathens.

Jews return from captivity. B. C. 536.

A most improbable event happened, and was brought about by an instrument, and at a time clearly specified in prophecy.[15] At the end of seventy years, Cyrus restored the Hebrews to their country. As the greatest and most distinguished portion of the exiles, then reinstated in their inheritance, belonged to the tribe of Judah, the name of Jews thenceforward prevailed; and the people thus named began to be governed in their domestic concerns, chiefly by their high-priests; though completely subordinate as to their contingents in war, and their pecuniary contributions, to the great powers who held successively the empire of Asia. This form of an ecclesiastical government at home, dependent on a civil or rather military government abroad, of which we have seen several examples from Babylon to Pessinus inclusively, should appear

Their government thence forward.

How Herodotus deceived concerning them.

[14] Josephus, Antiq. l. xi. c. 14.

[15] Isaiah, c. xlv. v. 1.

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to have deceived Herodotus. That historian visited Jerusalem, which he calls by its oriental name Kadytis[16] the Holy, a name still prevalent in the East. But the Jewish priests being as niggardly of truths, as the Egyptian priests had been lavish of lies, the inquisitive Greek enjoyed not any opportunity of learning the internal arrangements, the œconomy and history of the sacred city. He passes over these subjects with an otherwise incomprehensible silence, viewing the kingdom of David and Solomon with as little interest as he had formerly beheld the priestly governments (for that of Babylon was in his time abolished) of Olbus and Pessinus, of Comana and Morimena.

The accounts of them in pagan writers agree with Scripture.

With equal disregard from Greek historians[17], the Jews passed from the dominion of the Persians, to that of the Greeks and Macedonians, and continued thenceforward to yield obedience to those successors of Alexander in Egypt and Syria, who alternately swayed the politics of Lower Asia; until the ill-advised decree of conformity by Antiochus Epiphanes, the seventh[18] Syrian successor of Alexander, commanding them to comply with the established rites of Grecian superstition. Injured in this tender point, they, whose religious immunity had been the price and bond of allegiance, raised the

[16] Herodot. l. ii. c. 159. & l. iii. c. 5.

[17] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 25.

[18] Antiochus's decree was issued 168 years before Christ. Nearly half a century before that decree, in the year 216 before Christ, Ptolemy Philopator was disgraced by a short-lived and disastrous regulation of the same kind, as will be seen in the sequel.

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standard of rebellion; and, in asserting not only the freedom, but the exclusive propriety and dignity of their national worship, vindicated the institutions of Moses, and precipitated the downfall of the Syrian monarchy. In this desperate warfare, their valour and perseverance awakened Grecian curiosity to still subsisting peculiarities among the Jews, as well as to their ancient and memorable history. The work of Hecatæus of Abdera, a follower of Alexander, who at an earlier period had examined the affairs of Palestine with attention and impartiality [19], is unfortunately lost, and the loss is for ever to be regretted; since the notices of other Greeks, preserved chiefly in Diodorus and Strabo, reflect but a broken and distorted image of the sacred records, although they concur in bearing testimony to the power and populousness of the Jews, their momentous transactions and extraordinary institutions.[20]

Phœnicia — inhabitants of the two Tyres strikingly distinguished from each other.

Of all nations of Asia, next to the Jews themselves, there is none more worthy of liberal curiosity than their neighbours the Phœnicians, whose irreparable misfortunes immediately followed their own. Tyre on the continent, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, was a very different place from the small city on a rocky island scarcely a mile distant from the coast, taken after a siege of seven months by Alexander.[21]

[19] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. and Origen cont. Cels. l. i. p. 13.

[20] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750. & Diodor. l. i. s. 7. and in Fragment. Libror. xxxv. & xl.

[21] History of Ancient Greece, v. iv. c. 38.

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Insular Tyre was confined to an oval and elevated spot, now covered with black earth, eight hundred paces long, and four hundred broad, and could never exceed two miles in circumference. But Tyre on the opposite coast was a city of vast extent, since many centuries after its demolition, the thinly inhabited ruins measured nineteen miles round [22], including the populous island or rather rock in its neighbourhood, whose houses, for want of room on the earth, rose many stories into the air. The Tyrians conquered by Alexander were also a very different people from those destroyed, enslaved, or expelled by the king of Babylon. The Macedonian, in sacking Tyre, revenged not only the abominable cruelties recently committed against his own countrymen, but the bloody insurrection of Tyrian slaves, then possessed of the city, against indulgent and unsuspecting masters.[23] The Babylonian drove from their country the more illustrious ancestors of those masters themselves; men equally conspicuous for their attainments in arts, and their achievements in arms; whose renown, notwithstanding the destruction of their government and their capital, has been perpetuated by numerous colonies established by them on their own model; and whose example was of much importance to Alexander, in suggesting the means of completing by sea as well as land, the golden chain of commerce in which he had purposed to unite the remotest countries of antiquity.

[22] Plin. l. v. c. 19. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758.
[23] Justin. lxviii. c. 3.

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Naval and commercial history of the Phœnicians.

In a former part of this survey, we described the settlement of the Phœnicians on the coast of Syria, and considered their maritime traffic there, as an appendage to the great caravan trade carried on through Asia and Africa.[24] The nature and intent of this settlement on the shore of the Mediterranean are well calculated to confirm the observation that the further back we remount in the history of Asia, we shall find characters the worthier of our esteem. The Phœnicians were a colony[25] of Sabæans, an industrious seafaring people of Arabia, singularly attentive to the culture of their language, and holding public competitions in poetry, scarcely less memorable than the Pythian games in Greece.[26] Rivalling the Greeks in taste for the fine arts, the Sabæans, and particularly their colonists the Phœnicians, were still further ennobled by zeal for equal laws and political liberty. Sidon, the first settlement of the Phœnicians on the coast which borrowed their name, remounts to the age of Abram[27]: Tyre followed it perhaps[28] at no great distance of time;

[24] Homer, Iliad, l. vi. v. 290. and Odyss. l. xv. v. 419—424. By means of this communication, it is not impossible that Indian ivory might have adorned the palace of Menelaus. Odyss. l. iv. v. 70. et seq.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. 1.

[26] Vid. Schultens. Præfac. ad Monument. Vetust. Arab. and Pococke, Specileg. Hist. Arab.

[27] Conf. Genesis; c. x. v. 15. & c. xii. v. 6.

[28] Herodot. l. ii. c. 44. But the priests of the Tyrian Hercules indulged the vanity prevalent, as we have seen, in all such colleges. Josephus, Antiq. l. viii. c. 3. makes the foundation of Tyre precede, by only 240 years, that of Solomon's Temple.

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and upwards of twelve centuries before Christ, they had founded other colonies and built other seaports, each governed apart by its own kings or judges, whose official authority was so strictly limited, that it is scarcely to be distinguished from that of elective and responsible magistrates. Under the influence of such institutions, the citizens of Tyre and Sidon gradually became great merchants trading on large capitals, at the various *extremities* of the commercial world, which, according to the observation of Herodotus, were discovered most to abound [29] in precious commodities. The historian's remark is justified by a short enumeration of articles: the gold and ebony of Ethiopia; the spices, gems, and ivory of India; the perfumes and drugs of Arabia; the silver of Tartessus or Spain.[30] To these, the Phœnicians added slaves from Caucasus, horses and furs from Scythia, the amber of Prussia, and the tin of Britain.[31]. There was scarcely a commodity, either of ornament or use, which found not a place in their markets, and scarcely a shore, however remote, which they did not lay under commercial contribution, after they had established convenient halting places for reaching it by a

[29] Herodot. l. iii. c. 106. & c. 114.

[30] Tartessus and Ethiopia are called particularly "the extremities of the world." Homer, Odyss. l. iv. v. 563.

Εις ηλυσιον πεδιον και πειρατα γαιης.

Conf. Strabo, l. iii. p. 150. For Ethiopia, see Matthew, c. xii. v. 42.

[31] Ezekiel, c. xxvii. Exodus, xxx. v. 23, 24. Herodot. l. i. c. 163. l. iii. c. 15. Strabo, l. iii. p. 146.

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coasting navigation.[32] Of these halting-places, as well as of the principal goals or markets to which they led, the notices[33] in ancient history are more numerous than might be expected from authors chiefly occupied about wars and conquests.

Their goals and halting-places.

While examining, in a former work, the colonization of the Greeks[34], we scarcely touched at an island in the Mediterranean, without discovering factories and forts of the Phœnicians, or clear vestiges of the mining and other stubborn exertions of that indefatigable people. Cyprus had been cultivated by their industry[35], before it was embellished by the elegance of Greece. In Crete, the Phœnician story of Europa is anterior[36] to the age of the Greek Minos. The most accurate of historians, within the narrow limits prescribed to his narrative, attests the immemorial settlement of Phœnicians in Sicily.[37] In pursuing this direction from east to west, Sardinia and the Balearic isles filled

[32] See Gesner Commentar. de Electro Veterum, et de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis, and the same subject treated in a still more satisfactory manner by Heeren in his Ideen, &c. p. 767. et seq. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Heeren, though this part of my work was rough-hewn before his publication appeared.

[33] I confine myself to these *notices*, which Bochart, in his Canaan, has greatly extended by his profound knowledge in eastern languages. Inestimable, in geography and in criticism, are the labours of this learned man; but origins often fanciful, and etymologies often forced, are not authorities in history.

[34] History of Ancient Greece, passim.

[35] Isocrat. in Evagor. Conf. Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 42.

[36] Lucian de Dea Syria sub init. Conf. Diodor. l. iv. s. 60.

[37] Thucydid. l. vii. c. 2. et seq.

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up the long insular chain of their forts and settlements, finally terminating in Tartessus, the isle of Cadiz near the pillars of Hercules.[38] Their establishments on the northern coast of Africa are not less memorable. We have the authority of Aristotle, not less weighty in history than it formerly[39] was in philosophy, for placing the foundation of Utica two hundred and eighty-seven years before that of Carthage, that is, eleven hundred and fifty-six years before the Christian æra: a date which, according to that author, was copied from the Phœnician records.[40] Around Utica, their eldest daughter, and Carthage, their fairest and proudest, three hundred colonies were said to have diffused themselves on both sides collectively, and the report seems to be credited by a great geographer[41] by no means prone to exaggeration. Many of those settlements became important in themselves, through domestic industry and foreign commerce: Carthage, cultivating such pursuits in an extensive territory, far surpassed the power of her metropolis: but, in early times, all those Phœnician establishments derived no small share of their importance from being, as it were, stepping stones to the An-

[38] Diodor. l. v. s. 15. In Sardinia, Tartessus, &c. sacrifices were instituted to the Phœnician Hercules, and performed according to Phœnician forms or customs τοις των φοινικων εθεσι διοικεμεναι. Diodor. l. v. s. 20.

[39] I mean not in the scholastic ages when nonsense passed for philosophy, but in those of Alexander and Augustus, the most splendid, and *intellectually* the most refined, in history.

[40] Aristot. de Mirabil. Auscult. Opera, tom. i. p. 1165.

[41] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 826.

dalusian coast, which, if Ethiopia formed the Brazils, may be called the Peru and Mexico of antiquity. During the flourishing ages of Tyre in particular, which must have lasted nearly five centuries before its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, silver continued ever to be the principal object as well as instrument of Phœnician[42] traffic; and had been diffused by the Tyrians so copiously over the Eastern continent, that the revenues of all the satrapies, except India and Ethiopia, were paid in silver only.[43]

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In trading with Egyptian and Assyrian wares along the shores of the Mediterranean, as they are described in remotest times by Homer and Herodotus, the Phœnicians were carried accidentally to Tartessus, which is variously mentioned as a city, a river, a country; and which seems originally to have denoted the small island between two branches of the Guadalquiver[44], (settlements of that secure kind being always preferred by the Phœnicians[45],) which gradually extended its name with the diffusion of colonies over the adjacent territory. In this delicious portion of the Spanish coast, (I speak with a lively recollection of its charms,) the en-

Tartessus.

[42] Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 25. The words are rendered clearly by Michaelis: "Doch waren immer die Spanishen schiffe das hauptwerk deiner handlung." Conf. 1 Maccabees, c. viii. v. 3.

[43] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 89. et seq.

[44] Diodor. l. v. s. 20. Conf. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 2. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. ii. 16. & Strabo, Mela, Pausanias, Pliny.

[45] The isle of Cadiz, for the sake of silver; Nordland, an isle of Denmark, for the sake of amber; Scilly, for tin, &c.

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terprising traders are said to have met with objects calculated to afford unbounded scope to their mercantile speculations. For the cheapest trinkets, they received vast quantities of silver in exchange; a circumstance not extraordinary, if we believe that, among the natives of the country, the vilest utensils and even the mangers[46] for their horses consisted of this precious metal. The Phœnicians must have laid in a full cargo, before they could think, as is said, of separating the lead from their anchors, that they might load them also with silver.[47] Such reports may be partly fictitious; vain exaggerations resembling those to which similar circumstances gave birth upon the first discovery of America: but, as they are transmitted by authors of discernment as well as probity, they should seem to attest such riches in Spain in remote antiquity, as were sufficient to render that country the principal goal of the Phœnicians in their western traffic.

Stories concerning the first Phœnician traders to that country.

Spain is said to have produced tin[48] as well as silver. But the Phœnicians, with their unceasing activity in examining every coast which offered a hope of gain, soon discovered more copious sources of an article at all times and places of various and indispensable use, but

Tin—its peculiar use in Asia.

[46] Conf. Strabo, l. iii. p. 224. and Diodor. l. iii. s. 36. with Wesselingius's note.

[47] Aristot. de Mirabil. Auscult. Opera, tom. i. p. 1163. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 163. et Diodor. l. v. s. 35.

[48] Strabo, l. iii. p. 147. Diodor. l. v. s. 380. and Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 16.

particularly in request among the warlike nations of the East for hardening their copper, and making it supply the place of iron in weapons.[49] For collecting tin in abundance, the hardy navigators formed settlements on the Scilly islands, and perhaps also near to some of those promontories and peninsulas on the coast of Cornwall, which, exhibiting to ships at sea the appearance of isles not unlike those of Scilly, were collectively with them named the Cassiterides.[50]

The Phœnicians endeavoured to conceal their trade to the Cassiterides.

Careful as the Phœnicians were to conceal such profitable voyages, it was impossible for them to disguise their navigation for silver to Spain, through the well-known course of the Mediterranean. But they long endeavoured to throw a veil over their trade to Britain for the baser metals of lead and tin. In his anxiety to preserve the monopoly of these articles to his country, a Phœnician captain, perceiving himself to be followed by a foreign vessel, contrived to make his ship bulge; the crew perished; the captain was saved on the wreck, and his bold act of patriotism was remunerated by his fellow-

[49] Their armour, offensive and defensive, has been found, on analysis, to contain copper and tin; the tin gives hardness, the copper tenacity. The ingenious Mr. Hatchett, who has examined chemically many ancient weapons, tells me that to these distinctions the ancient armourers very carefully attended. The manual weapons contain about four-fifths of copper, and only one-fifth of tin: the missile weapons contain a much greater proportion of tin. A sword must have strength and flexibility. A dart will answer its purpose, if hard and sharp, though brittle.

[50] Strabo, l. iii. p. 175. makes the Cassiterides ten in number. This error is corrected by Camden and others.

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citizens.[51] The Cassiterides were considered as situate at the extremities of the north, but the Phœnicians, if they did not really navigate the Baltic, at least procured from its shores the admired article of amber[52]; a commodity then deemed more precious than gold.

Their trade for gold to Ophir.

But this main instrument and idol of the commercial world, appears, next to silver, to have been the principal import of the Tyrians. The long friendship of David and Solomon, kings of the Hebrews, with Hiram king of Tyre, afforded an opportunity to the sacred historian of mentioning two celebrated voyages of Hiram's subjects: namely, that to Tarshish or Tartessus above described, by the Mediterranean; and that to Ophir on the eastern coast of Africa, by the Red Sea. The ships to Tarshish, on the occasion particularly specified, proceeded southward to the coast of Guinea, and, together with Spanish silver, brought home the usual purchases on that coast to the present day, gold and ivory.[53] The ships which sailed from the harbours of Elath and Eziongeber on the eastern horn of the Red Sea, brought back gold only.[54]

[51] Not, however, with the generosity of British merchants, if he received only the value of his lost cargo. Strabo, l. iii. p. 175, 176. But the phrase should be construed liberally, that the captain received due compensation.

[52] It came from the Eridanus, recognised in the Rhodaune, which flows into the Vistula near Dantzig. Herodot. l. iii. c. 15. with Larcher's note.

[53] 1 Kings, c. x. v. 22.

[54] 1 Kings, c. ix. v. 26, 27, & 28. and 2 Chronicles, c viii. v. 17, & 18. In these texts, the two voyages are clearly distinguished; not so, in 2 Chronicles, c. xx. v. 36. and 1 Kings, c. xxii. 48. To

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In these venturous undertakings, apparently familiar to the Tyrians, the gains must have been indeed wonderful, if estimated by the extraordinary quantities of gold employed for adorning the temple of Jerusalem, computed at upwards of six hundred millions sterling[55]: a sum of accumulation to which our enormous debts of profusion can alone reconcile our ears. By adopting the reading in Josephus[56], the amount is reduced to the tenth part of that contained in Chronicles; but even Josephus's statement is sufficiently large to warrant the suspicion that the talent in question is not that of the Hebrews, but a much smaller weight of the same name, applied only to articles the most precious, particularly the fine gold of Ophir.

Reasons for thinking it near to Sofala.

A late celebrated traveller, in explaining the Phœnician voyage, is generally thought to have determined on good grounds the situation of Ophir at Sofala; a district on the eastern coast of Africa nearly opposite to the centre of the great island of Madagascar. In addition to the arguments employed by himself and others in support of this opinion, it may be observed, that Cambyses the Persian, after his conquest of

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reconcile the dark, with the clear, texts, we may either suppose the names "Tarshish and Ophir" to be interchanged by a mistake of transcribers, or we must admit an anterior circumnavigation of Africa to that described by Herodotus 610 years before Christ. Herodot. l. iv. c. 42.

[55] 1 Chronicles, c. xxii. v. 14. with Arbuthnot's tables of ancient coins, p. 208.

[56] Antiq. Judaic. l. vii. c. 14.

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Egypt[57], proceeded as far as Meroë in an expedition against the Ethiopians, whose great riches are expressed by saying, that the chains of their prisoners were composed of gold[58]; and that he returned, despairing of success, after he had accomplished one-fifth part of his journey.[59] The stage at which he arrived, the part of his route which he had performed, and both notices derived from the most respectable sources, afford such a result as seems altogether decisive: since the distance between Thebes and Meroë, from the former of which Cambyses set out, really measures about a fifth part of the journey from Thebes to Sofala or Ophir. By this observation, however, I pretend not to fix the situation of Ophir within precise and narrow limits; for Ophir was probably a name for that part of Ethiopia most productive in gold, as Tartessus, of which we have just spoken, denoted those districts in Spain most abundant in silver.

Traffic of the Phœnicians in spices and perfumes.

Next to the precious metals, spices and perfumes formed the main merchandize of the Phœnicians, and were by them diffused among various nations of the west and north. In importing these commodities, their principal agents were the Sabæans inhabiting the cultivated parts of Arabia on the Red Sea, and the carriers by

[57] Strabo, l. xvii. Conf. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. l. ii. c. 10.

[58] Herodot. l. iii. c. 23.

[59] Herodot. l. iii. c. 25. His provisions failed before he reached this distance, and he could not long continue to advance, when his soldiers were obliged to live on the beasts of burden, or on each other. Conf. Herodot. ubi supra, et Seneca de Ira, l. iii. c. 20.

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land through the intermediate desert, were the Nabathæan Arabs, "the troops from Tema and Sheba[60]," whose transactions will be conspicuous in a subsequent part of this work during the short-lived empire of Antigonus. The Phœnicians and Sabæans were connected by the ties of blood[61], but still more closely united by their mutual wants. The Phœnicians wanted from these Arabians, articles indispensable in the domestic[62] luxury, and still more in the costly public worship of antiquity, when incense[63] perpetually smoked from innumerable altars; and the Sabæans might be abundantly supplied in return, with what they most coveted, the silver of Tartessus; an object of the utmost importance in their commerce with India, since at all times that metal has been in peculiar request among the remote nations of the East. Not satisfied with an equality of profit in this beneficial intercourse, the wily Tyrians, while they kept in their own hands a sort of monopoly of silver, contrived to create rivals to the Sabæans in the sale of Indian[64] and Arabian merchandize.

Its vast extent and causes by which it was promoted.

[60] Job, c. vi. v. 19.

[61] See above, s. ii.

[62] Herodot. l. i. c. 195. & 198.

[63] Id. l. i. c. 183.

[64] "The Phœnicians, by means of their harbours on the Red Sea, held a regular intercourse with India." Robertson's Disquisition, &c. p. 7. 4to. edit. But the authorities cited by this accurate and eminent historian, (viz. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1128. and Diodorus, l. i. p. 70.), do not warrant his assertion; neither is there any clear proof of Indian articles in the xxviith chapter of Ezekiel. But spices are mentioned in Genesis, c. xxxvii. v. 25.; and what these spices were, appears from the cinnamon and cassia of the holy oil, Exodus, c. xxx. v. 23. with Michaelis's note. Κιννάμωμος is used in the Septuagint, Jeremiah, c. vi. v. 10. and also in the Revelations, c. xviii. v. 13.

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The cultivated parts on the Red Sea, and those on the Persian gulph, are separated by a desert six hundred miles broad. Towards the north, they communicated by the wandering Nabathæans, and on the south, by small and obscure seaports extending along the basis of the triangle, from the Arabian to the Persian gulph. At the entrance of the latter, Maceta opposite to the modern Ormus, and further to the north, Gerra, only two hundred miles distant from the mouth of the Euphrates, deserved the attention of historians, not exclusively engrossed by wars and conquests. At what precise period the commerce of these harbours acquired eminence, we are not enabled to ascertain; it must, however, have been ancient, extensive, and uninterrupted, since a southern district of Babylonia, Diredotis or Teredon, chiefly supplied by their means with spices and aromatics, was emphatically styled the land of traffic by the prophets [65], and is dignified with precisely the same title by the Greek historians of Alexander. [66] At their first establishment, the harbours on the Persian gulph probably served chiefly as links of connection between

Sabæans prevented from keeping the monopoly in this traffic.

Gerra and Maceta.

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where that spice appears as an ordinary article of traffic in ancient Babylon. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 3. says, "cinnamon came from the country where Bacchus was brought up," that is, India: and the stories related by him concerning it exactly resemble those told by the inhabitants of Ceylon to Thunberg and Foster. Atheneus, l. i. p. 66. will attest the early use of spiceries in Greece.

[65] Conf. Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 4. and Isaiah, c. xliii. v. 14.

[66] Γης εμπορίης. Arriani Indica, c. 41.

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the Happy Arabia, and the rich Babylonian[67] plain, where the successive capitals of Nineveh and Babylon, not to mention cities of inferior rank, must have occasioned a great demand for their merchandize; since Babylon, in its fallen state under the Persian yoke, annually consumed twenty-five[68] tons of frankincense in the single festival of Belus. But through the interference, and perhaps the example of the Phœnicians, the merchants of Gerra and Maceta, as well as those of the neighbouring isles in the Persian gulph, some of which produced good timber[69], ventured on a bolder sphere of action, and constructed vessels of their own, fit to perform long coasting voyages to different parts of India. That the Tyrians had no small share in effecting this improvement, is indicated in the name Tylos or Tyrus, and Aradus, both transferred from Phœnician[70] cities to two small islands near the eastern coast of Arabia: whether those now called the Bahrein islands, or, according to our great geographer whose opinions always command respect, two yet smaller, near the mouth

Dedan — its import.

[67] Strabo says this of Gerra, and speaks of it as a Babylonian colony, l. i. p. 50. Nearchus in his voyage was told that the promontory, which he saw before him, of Maceta, was an emporium of cinnamon and aromatics, which supplied the Assyrians. Arrian, Indic. c. 32.

[68] Herodot. l. i. c. 183. This kind of magnificence continued under Alexander, who expended ten thousand talents (two millions sterling) in Hephæstion's funeral pyre at Babylon. Arrian, vii. 14.

[69] Theophrast. Histor. Plant. l. v. c. 6. and Plin. l. vi. c. 28.

[70] Ἱερα εχεσαι τοις φοινικικοις ὁμοια. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 766. Conf. Plin. l. vi. p. 28.

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of the Persian gulph.[71] The notices in ancient writers concerning the situation of Tylos or Tyrus are not to be reconciled. Probably, as we have seen in parallel cases, the name was applied to different islands in the gulph, as they successively became chief seats of Phœnician factories, and principal staples of traffic. By means, however, of their settlements in these parts, called collectively Dedan[72] in Scripture, the Phœnicians not only destroyed the monopoly of the Sabæans with regard to the maritime commerce in spices and perfumes, but obtained a channel of communication with Ophir or Sofala, independently of the harbours on the Red Sea, which, in the unsettled state of that neighbourhood, frequently changed masters.

Phœnician manufactures.

Having endeavoured briefly to explain the different branches of Phœnician commerce, it is necessary to add that a people equally ingenious and enterprising, was not contented with dealing in foreign commodities. They carried on successfully various branches of domestic industry; some common to them with other manufacturing nations, and several peculiar to themselves alone: for the inventors of letters were the authors of many other inventions; among which it would be unpardonable to omit their robes shining with the far-famed Tyrian dye, their inimitable pieces of workmanship in gold and ivory[73], and the more useful composition of glass, which appears

[71] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 248.

[72] Michaelis on Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 15.

[73] Strabo, l. i. p. 41. & l. xvi. p. 757, 758.

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to have been a Sidonian discovery.[74] Yet to the boldness of their maritime undertakings, the Phœnicians are principally indebted for their celebrity.[75]

Circumnavigation of Africa.

The circumnavigation of Africa by men, who, in many preceding voyages, had sailed to Guinea on one side, and to Sofala on the other, is not an unlikely event, nor involving any incredible circumstances. The voyage was accomplished, as we have seen, six centuries before the Christian æra, by Phœnicians resident in Egypt, at the desire of Necos, the unfortunate rival of Nebuchadnezzar. But in the state of the commercial world at that period, this first passage of the Cape of Good Hope stands as an insulated and comparatively unimportant fact, celebrated indeed as a matter of curiosity[76], but which, to

[74] It was industriously reported by the Phœnicians, that the fusion of sand into glass could be performed only at Sidon. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 69. and Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 26. Were the λιθινα χυτα, "the melted stones" of which Herodotus speaks, of the same nature with modern glass? If so, the Egyptians probably obtained them from Sidon. Joshua, c. xix. v. 26. with Michaelis's note.

[75] In the Argonautica ascribed to Orpheus, and certainly of high antiquity, the Poet makes Ancæus, a Phœnician, take the helm in time of danger, and encourage the Greek heroes. Argonaut. v. 1090. et seq.

[76] See above, p. 191. and Herodotus, l. iv. c. 42. Some translations make Herodotus say, "the report of those navigators may obtain credit with others, but to me it seems incredible; for they affirmed that having sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand." The last clause of the sentence should run, "that in sailing round Africa they had the sun on their right hand," that is, in the northern hemisphere. On turning to the original, the reader will find, that this is the only circumstance which Herodotus calls in question, although he candidly admits that others may be pre-

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historians of that age, did not seem likely to be attended with any considerable utility.

Its unimportance in that age.

Had profit been its main object, the Tyrians would have left neither the design to a king of Egypt, nor the execution chiefly to their countrymen settled in that kingdom; their own commonwealth would have embarked heartily in the enterprise. But the merchants of Tyre, holding such an important share in the traffic carried on by sea and land through the great central countries of the world, could not discern any alluring prospect at the out-lying extremity of Africa. On the eastern side, all beyond Ophir, the land of gold, was left unexamined, from an opinion rather of the uselessness of such an undertaking, than of any great danger attending it; and on the western side of that vast region, they might safely entrust the completion of their discoveries to the greatest of their own colonies, I mean the republic of Carthage, whose fortunate position on the African shore was improved, as we shall see hereafter, by a rare combination of deep wisdom and daring enterprise.

Government of the Phœnicians.

The political state of the Phœnicians may be familiarised to our fancy by recalling the governments of Greece during the heroic ages. In Greece before, and for a short time after, the war of Troy, each city, at the distance of ten or

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pared for receiving it. He is so far from disbelieving the relation in general on account of one improbable circumstance that he immediately subjoins: "Thus was the coast of Africa for the first time explored."

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twenty miles from another, had its king, its senate and assembly; while the whole of these cities collectively formed a confederacy for defence, and sometimes for aggression: united by the common ties of religion and language, a sameness of laws, and a similarity of manners. Such precisely[77] was the condition of the Phœnicians, with one important difference, that this praiseworthy people never unsheathed the sword except in self-defence: they resisted the invaders of their country with unparalleled perseverance; the other materials for their history are supplied solely by their commerce, their colonization, and their discoveries.

Invention of letters — connected with their extensive commerce.

At the head of these discoveries must be mentioned, that which is the greatest of all, and to which mankind are so infinitely indebted, that emotions of curiosity and gratitude arise in every liberal mind, at the bare name of its authors. It might naturally be expected that clouds should surround the origin of alphabetic writing, an art by which chiefly, the fruits of all other arts and sciences are perpetuated and diffused. But the general voice of antiquity,

[77] The progress of government in Phœnicia accorded also exactly with that in Greece, and was directly the reverse of that in Palæstine. Instead of Judges, the Hebrews created kings; instead of Kings, the Phœnicians elected Suffetes, so named from the Phœnician or Hebrew word (Sophetim), which signifies judges. In their historical age, the Carthaginians knew only Suffetes, though Hanno in the title to his voyage (of which hereafter) is called king. This interchange of names attests the nature of the office, agreeing, as said in the text, with the very *limited royalties* of Greece. History of Ancient Greece, v. i. c. 1. & 3. Conf. Josephus cont. Apion, l. i. c. 17.

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while it ascribes to the Egyptians and Assyrians respectively, the improvements of geometry and astronomy[78]; and to both nations promiscuously, the introduction of idolatry and hieroglyphics[79], assigns to the Phœnicians an invention of greater subtilty and more extensive use; the analysis of articulate sound into its simplest elements, and the notation of these elements by fit characters, which Cadmus carried with him into Greece, two years before Moses led the Israelites across the Red Sea. The Assyrians and Egyptians depicted on walls and columns their public transactions, as well as their astronomical observations: the symbolic writing employed for these purposes was also subservient, as we have seen, to the early and extensive intercourse carried on by caravans, through the rich cities of Thebes and Nineveh, Memphis and Babylon; and between those great inland staples of the ancient continent on the one hand, and the Phœnician as well as Arabian seaports on the other. To which of the two great pursuits of the Theban and Babylonian priesthood, whether commerce or science, the inestimable invention of recording thought is most indebted, it would be now fruitless to inquire; but it is worthy of remark, that the two great nations of antiquity, the most noted for their inland traffic, are also the most celebrated for their hieroglyphics; and it is analogous to this observation that the

[78] Οι χαλδαιοι μεν αστρονομιαν, Αιγυπτιοι δε γεωμετριαν, &c. Anatolius apud Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. l. iii. c. 10. p. 275.

[79] Vid. Cassiodor. Varior. l. iii. Epist. 52.

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Phœnicians, while they distinguished themselves by maritime commerce, should have exerted their ingenuity on contrivances indispensable to merchants[80], and have simplified more and more the means by which their contracts might be recorded, and their thoughts communicated to numerous correspondents and factories in distant parts of the world.

Destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. B.C. 575.

Within as narrow a compass as seemed consistent with perspicuity, I have endeavoured to comprise the merits and attainments of a people whose splendour appears early above the distant horizon of time, and whose sun of prosperity set five hundred and seventy-three years before the Christian æra. After a thirteen years' siege, Tyre was taken and demolished by Nebuchadnezzar. King Ithobal was slain fighting for his capital. To these particulars concerning a siege longer, and, in respect of its defenders, far more important than that of Troy, history only enables us to add the ordinary operations in all such warfare; a mound raised against the place, walls of circumvallation round it, forts with lofty engines from which its highest towers were battered.[81] Its fair palaces, splendid idols, and accumulated magazines of precious merchandise[82] were a prey to horsemen from the north, the Scythian cavalry of Nebuchadnezzar; bar-

[80] To this necessity, also, Strabo ascribes their arithmetic and doctrine of proportions. Την λογιστικην, &c. δια εμποριας, l. xvii. p. 787.

[81] Ezekiel, c. xxiv. v. 8 & 9.

[82] Ibid. c. xxviii. v. 12. in Michaelis's translation.

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barians not less thirsty for blood than they were greedy of plunder.

Influence of that event on the commercial world.

The crash of this metropolis, in the bold language of prophecy, resounded over numerous isles and distant coasts; its fall shook to the earth many flourishing factories and colonies, involving as it were in its ruin the whole commercial world.[83] A peculiarity in the prediction "that Tyre should be thrown into the sea, so that, though sought for, it should never more be found[84]," was not fulfilled till near three centuries afterwards, when Alexander employed part of the ruins of this capital to raise a stupendous mole reaching three-quarters of a mile from the coast to the walls of New Tyre, built on the opposite island.[85] This mole has been gradually covered with alluvions, and formed into an isthmus, which, with the small island at its extremity, compose together a peninsula in the shape of a hammer. The present town stands on the junction, as it were, of the head and handle: miserably peopled by fifty families of poor fishermen.[86] Sad as this desolation

Prophecy fulfilled.

[83] Ezekiel, c. xxviii. v. 15, 16, 17. [84] Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 17. & 21.

[85] History of Ancient Greece, v. iv. c. 38.

[86] Voyage de Volney en Syrie, &c. v. ii. p. 194. This more lively than learned traveller gives a curious derivation of the word Sour (the modern name of Tyre). The Latins, he says, substituted the letter *T* for the Greek Θ, which had the hissing sound which the English give to *Th* in the word *Think*. Hence the change of the word *Theta* into *S*. How strange! Did Mr. Volney ever meet with "Tyre" written in Greek with a *Theta*? The modern name of Sour or Sur is not derived from the Greek but from the Arabic, in which language Tyre, as is well known, is written Tsyrus. Vid. Golium. Element. Afragan.

must appear, the narrowness and smallness of insular Tyre, the seaport sacked by Alexander, but afterwards restored by him, was a declension scarcely less memorable from the spacious and splendid city destroyed irrecoverably by Nebuchadnezzar.[87] SECT. IV.

This king of kings, the redoubted commander of innumerable cavalry, appears not to have been possessed of any considerable naval force. Many Tyrians escaped by sea with their most precious effects; and a considerable number of them, moved by affection for their native land, so much encreased the populousness of the island, that it became in time necessary to raise the houses there, five and six stories above the ground. They are described as equalling in height the *insulæ* at Rome, a word for which the English language happily supplies not an equivalent, but which denoted large and lofty edifices, inhabited by various tenants of the poorer sort, occupying their several flats or stories.[88] Security from such conquerors as Nebuchadnezzar, compensated to the Tyrians for every inconveniency and even New Tyre —its buildings.

[87] The pre-eminence of the first Tyre over the second, has been strangely overlooked: Montesquieu had a glimpse of it, where he says, Je crois que la destruction de la premiere Tyre, par Nebuchodanosar, &c. fit perdra des connaissances qu'on avoit acquises. L'Esprit des Loix, xxi. 9.

[88] Conf. Juvenal. Satyr. iii. v. 166. Sueton. in Neron. and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 753. & 757. They are common in all parts of the continent; over which England has this advantage, that persons of moderate fortunes, as well as the rich, can lock their outer doors, their houses being inhabited by one family only.

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danger, in a country often shaken by earthquakes.

Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt.

The taking of Tyre which had not been effected by the Chaldees "till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled [89]," was immediately followed by a predatory desolation of Egypt, then torn by a civil war between Apries the grandson and successor of Necos, and his revolted general Amasis. The haughty character of Apries, who, according to Herodotus, vaunted that it was beyond the power [90] of the gods themselves to shake the firmness of his government, is described more pithily by the words put into his mouth by Ezekiel, "the river is mine and I have made it." [91] Such pride, deformed by still more odious cruelty [92], precipitated him from the throne; and, after the departure of Nebuchadnezzar, (who should appear to have entered into a composition with Amasis,) subjected Apries to a shameful death. [93]

Amasis, his reign of forty-four years. B.C. 569—525.

From the date of Apries' execution, the usurper Amasis reigned forty-four years with great glory; exaggerated perhaps by the partiality of the Greeks, to whom he threw open the commerce of his kingdom, and whom he encouraged to build temples, (a precaution necessary to merchants) in every part of his dominions, and with whose nation he enhanced all his former merits, by making a Greek woman the partner of his throne. [94] During the latter

[89] Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 18.
[90] Herodotus, l. ii, c. 161.
[91] Chap. xxix v. 9
[92] Herodotus, l. ii. p. 162.
[93] Ibid. c. 169.
[94] Ibid. l. ii. c. 178. & 181.

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part of his long administration, Egypt recovered from the evils inflicted on it in the time of Apries. The seasons were favourable, the supplies of water to the Nile unusually propitious, and the kingdom boasted its twenty thousand cities or towns, most of them well inhabited. [95]

Revolutions in Asia between Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander. B. C. 561—330.

The Egyptian expedition is the last warfare of which we have any distinct notice in the military history of Nebuchadnezzar, who, shortly afterwards, converted his vast camp into the greatest city described in antiquity. Of the enlargement of this city, and of the various classes of its inhabitants; their occupations, pursuits, and manners, such as they still appeared at the æra of the Macedonian conquest, we shall speak presently; after deducing briefly the revolutions in Asia from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Alexander.

The great Nebuchadnezzar, called Labynetus by the Greeks, died five hundred and sixty-one years before the Christian æra. He was succeeded by a prince named also Labynetus by Herodotus [96], a name that may be recognised in the Nabonnid of Berosus [97], and who, from a complete coincidence in several extraordinary particulars [98], is concluded to be the same person with the Belshazzar of Daniel, whose capital was taken by Cyrus five hundred and thirty-eight years before the Christian æra.

[95] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 177. [96] Ibid. l. i. c. 188.

[97] Apud Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. c. 2. and Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 41.

[98] Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. vii. p. 190. Edit. Leuncl. and Daniel, c. v. passim.

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Babylonian, or second Assyrian empire. B. C. 605—538.

The second Assyrian empire called Babylonian, from the capital of Nebuchadnezzar, and Chaldæan from the nation of his warlike followers, lasted no more than sixty-seven years, from the destruction of Nineveh to the Persian conquest of Babylon. During the first fifty-five years of that period, the power of Babylon in the west, was contemporary with that of the Medes in the east; and, during the twelve last years of the same period, it was contemporary with that of the Persians[99], who, through the valour and policy of Cyrus, supplanted the dominion of the Medes five centuries and a half before Christ.[100]

Persian empire. B. C. 538—330.

From the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, to the assassination of the last Darius by Bessus, an interval of two hundred and eight years, the Persians, whose history in connection with that of the Greeks, I related in a former work, held a more extensive dominion in southern Asia, than any other nation ever enjoyed either before or after them, the Macedonians alone excepted.

Egypt conquered by Cambyses. B. C. 525.

To Asia, Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, added Egypt[101] almost immediately after the death of Amasis, its illustrious and beloved sovereign. Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and the last independent king of Egypt, reigned but six months before the invasion of his country, and the destruction of himself and family by a merciless tyrant, who, in his eagerness to level

[99] Herodot. l. i. c. 125. et seq. Conf. Daniel. cum Comment. Hieronym.

[100] Id. ibid.

[101] Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. et seq.

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every thing in that ancient kingdom before his own despotism, raged with an intolerant fury not totally devoid of policy, against its idolatry and priesthood.[102] As the priests had been the first authors, and always continued the main supporters of Egyptian prosperity, so of all classes in society, they were the most reluctant in yielding submission to a barbarous foreign yoke. The successive revolts of the Egyptians fomented chiefly through the priests, continued down to the æra of the Macedonian conquest. Only twenty years before that period, when Artaxerxes Ochus defeated Nectenebus the last conspicuous rebel, his victory was followed by a general persecution of the sacerdotal families, whose temples were plundered even of their sacred records.[103]

Persecutions of its priests and rebellions. B. C. 525—330.

Notwithstanding the evils inflicted on Egypt by the Persians, that country, as well as Assyria, when they fell under the dominion of Alexander, still contained an industrious and ingenious people. The use which that conqueror, as well as his brother Ptolemy, who reigned after him in Egypt, made of such valuable materials there, it will be my duty to explain fully hereafter. But as Babylon, locally the centre, was chosen also for the seat and capital[104] of Alexander's empire, it is necessary in this place to describe its condition when conquered by him, not merely as to its buildings and external embellishments, things comparatively of little interest, but with

State of Babylon at the æra of the Macedonian conquest.

[102] Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. & c. xxv. et seq. [103] Diodorus, l. xvi. s. 51.
[104] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.

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regard to its numerous inhabitants; their arts, occupations, and manners.

How enlarged by Nebuchadnezzar.

Babylon had been long famed for science and for commerce, before it became the head of a great empire on the downfall of Nineveh. These cities, as capitals, existed not simultaneously, but successively. Many of the ornaments of Babylon might be due to a princess who flourished an hundred and fifty years[105] before Nebuchadnezzar, and still more of them might be owing to his queen Nitocris, who is supposed to have carried on his architectural plans during his long mental alienation; yet, we have the authority of Scripture for ascribing to Nebuchadnezzar himself[106], the vastness and magnificence "of the house of his kingdom." The dimensions of his capital as extended on the plan of a vast camp, after the usual practice of oriental conquerors, are given with as little variation[107] as might be expected from travellers estimating by report only, without actual admeasurement. According to the fairest result, they comprehended a regular square, of which each side measured about twelve English miles[108], giving a surface of an hundred and twenty-six square miles within its fortifications: a surface exceeding eight times the size of London and its appendages.[109] Ba-

Its dimensions.

How divided within its walls.

[105] Herodotus, l. i. c. 184.

[106] "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the house of the kingdom," that is, the capital of my empire. Conf. Daniel, c. iv. v. 30. Josephus cont. Apion, l. i. c. 19.

[107] Conf. Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Curtius, Pliny.

[108] Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. Diodor. & Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 2.

[109] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 541.

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bylon contained crowded streets rising three and four[110] stories high; but, like its precursor Nineveh, abounded with gardens, or rather parks, spacious reservoirs of water, temples and palaces of great extent, vast squares and market-places. Although we abate above one half for these ornamental vacancies, we shall leave ample room for habitation within walls 48 miles in circuit. These walls were 75 feet high, with pinnacles rising fifteen feet above them[111]: and were provided at due intervals with a hundred brazen gates. The principal palace stood on the western bank of the Euphrates, directly opposite to the temple, sepulchre, and tower of Belus. This last-named edifice ascended above the middle of the temple, or rather sacred inclosure, in a pyramidal form, diminishing in compass as it reached upwards from its quadrangular base, each side of which was a stadium in length.[112] It was divided into eight stories, of which the higher always contracted by the deep retreat of its sides from the division immediately below it. The whole height of the tower measured a stadium; an altitude well according with the forty feet[113] assigned to the colossal statue of Belus or Jupiter on its summit; which, at the elevation of a stadium, would represent the ordinary size of a human figure.

Tower of Belus.

The magnitude of this edifice, loftier and

How Babylon sup-

[110] Herodotus, l. i. c. 180. Conf. Curtius.

[111] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738.

[112] Herodot. l. i. c. 181. His stadium is the tenth part of a mile nearly.

[113] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 9.

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plied with food.

only somewhat less massy than the greatest of the Egyptian pyramids, has been a stumbling-block with many, who have overlooked a more considerable difficulty. How could Babylon, if three times, or only twice as populous as London, be properly supplied with food? In the narratives of ancient writers, we hear nothing of that scarcity [114] which prevails in the populous cities of China, now the greatest in Asia; and which reduces their wretched inhabitants to the meanest shifts and coarsest garbage for subsistence. [115] The Babylonians, on the contrary, are described as living in great plenty, and the upper classes as enjoying the habitual use of expensive luxuries. [116] It has been computed that London requires for its support, according to the average culture of Great Britain, a territory nearly equal in extent to Wales. [117] Could the produce of fourteen thousand square miles, that is, twice the surface of Wales, be transported to Babylon without enhancing beyond bounds the price of necessaries? The question will be answered in the affirmative, when we consider the wonderful fertility of Babylonia, that is, the cultivated soil between the rivers; of the canals for watering the desert on the west of the Euphrates, and of the rich alluvial Susiana on the east of the Tigris. [118] Besides this consideration, the

The household

[114] Anson's Voyage, Staunton's Embassy, &c.
[115] Id. ibid.
[116] Herodot. l. i. c. 195.
[117] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 341. et seq.
[118] See above, p. 90.

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of the great king not supplied from the ordinary markets.

following passage of Scripture seems to indicate the means by which the produce of very remote districts might be serviceable in nourishing the capital, and lowering in price there, the principal articles of subsistence. "And Solomon had twelve officers over all Israel which provided victuals for the king and his household." [119] A similar institution prevailed under the Assyrian and Persian empires. [120] Two royal palaces, only, occupied in Babylon the space of two and a half square miles. [121] In these stupendous abodes of luxury and magnificence, the retainers and court attendants cannot be supposed less numerous than they are afterwards described in the smaller palaces of Susa, where the menials were numbered by troops like the king's accompanying army, and where many thousands of ghiher rank were daily fed at his tables. [122] In subsisting these idle multitudes, and even the royal army, no demand needed to be made on the ordinary markets. These favoured orders were provided bountifully by the des-

[119] 1 Kings, c. iv. v. 7.

[120] Ctesias, Persic. & Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 241.

[121] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 8.

[122] Xenoph. ibid. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 146. Dioclesian, the first Roman emperor who adopted the court ceremonial of the great kings of the East, had the avenues to his palace lined by vast crowds (the various schools as they were called) of domestic officers. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, & Spanheim de Usu Numismatum, Dissert. xii.

The populousness of the Persian cities varies greatly according to the accession or removal of the court. Tehraim, the present capital, has only 10,000 inhabitants in summer; but, in winter, when the court is there, the population amounts to 60,000.

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potic master of millions, commanding and concentrating labour, and setting all expence at defiance.

Peculiar circumstances in the soil and mode of life of the Babylonians.

In addition to this circumstance, Babylonia, more fertile than Egypt, enjoyed for the most part an equal conveniency in point of water-carriage. The soil not only produced more than that of European countries, but there was a quicker succession of crops, legumes succeeding grains, and fruits being followed in the same season by new flowers.[123] The Babylonians also, like the inhabitants of southern Asia in general, lived on the simple and immediate produce of the ground, instead of receiving the result of that produce infinitely diminished in the form of animal food. Nations subsisting chiefly on grains and roots attain a degree of populousness of which carnivorous Europeans can scarcely form an idea. In those adust climates, besides, the crops of many years might be treasured up with safety; and that this contrivance against scarcity was in use at Babylon, there is abundant proof in history.[124]

Public granaries.

Babylon's greatest commercial prosperity.

During the latter part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and the twenty-six years that intervened between his death and the conquest of his

[123] Gibbon says, too strongly, "To the soil and climate of Babylonia, nature had denied some of her choicest gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree;" for, according to our modern travellers, grapes, olives, and figs, are now very common fruits in almost every garden. But these garden-fruits are poor compensations for the groves of palm-trees that anciently covered the whole country. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxiv.

[124] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 158. & Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 190.

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capital by Cyrus, Babylon appears not only to have been the seat of an imperial court, and station for a vast garrison, but the staple of the greatest commerce that perhaps was ever carried on by one city. Its precious manufactures under its hereditary sacerdotal government remounted, as we have seen, to immemorial antiquity.[125] The Babylonians continued thenceforward to be clothed with the produce of their own industry. Their bodies were covered with fine linen, descending to their feet; their mitras or turbans were also of linen, plaited with much art; they wore woollen tunicks, above which a short white cloak repelled the rays of the sun.[126] Their houses were solid, lofty, and separated, from a regard to health and safety, at due distances from each other[127]; within them the floors glowed with double and triple carpets of the brightest colours[128]; and the walls were adorned with those beautiful tissues called Sindones, whose fine yet firm texture was employed as the fittest clothing for eastern kings.[129] The looms of Babylon, and of the neighbouring Borsippa, a town owing its prosperity to manufactures wholly supplied, to all countries round, the finest veils or hangings, and every article of dress or furniture composed of cotton, of linen, or of wool.[130]

Rich manufactures.

[125] Joshua, c. vii. v. 21. [126] Herodot. l. i. c. 195.
[127] Curtius, l. v. c. i.
[128] Xenoph. de Instit. Cyri. Conf. Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. l. vi. c. 29.
[129] Theophrast. Hist. Plantarum. l. iv. c. 9.
[130] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739. & Theophrast. ibid.

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Vast consumption of precious foreign articles.

In the consumption of the Babylonians, we find innumerable commodities that could be drawn only from far remote countries. The vast quantities of spices and aromatics wasted in private luxury, or in the superstitious worship of their gods, appear to have been objects of more expence among them, than among any other people, not excepting the Romans during the ages of their greatest magnificence. At the festival of Jupiter, twenty-five tons[131] of frankincense were yearly burned on his altar. Next to this article, the prodigious masses of gold, employed in statues and other elaborate ornaments, deservedly excite wonder. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, ninety feet high, included also the height of the pedestal, since the breadth of this figure was, according to Scripture, only nine feet, which, from the known proportions of the human body, will give forty feet for its altitude, the precise[132] number assigned by Diodorus Siculus to the loftiest of the colossal statues at Babylon. According to *his* enumeration and estimate of the golden decorations of that city, the collective mass exceeded in value twenty-one millions sterling[133]: but some fallacy may be suspected, since we know from higher authority, that many idols consisted of wood[134]

Golden idols.

Fallacy in their amount.

[131] Herodotus, l. i. c. 183. His talent is reckoned at 60 pounds avoirdupois. He says, "1000 *talents*." Forty talents make a ton, and 1000 talents make 25 tons.

[132] Conf. Daniel, c. iii. v. 1. & Diodorus, l. ii. s. 9.

[133] Diodorus, l. ii. s. 9. et seq.

[134] Isaiah, c. xl. v. 19. Such probably was the golden calf worshipped in the wilderness (Exodus, c. xxxii. v. 20.), about which ignorance has so long cavilled, and will continue to cavil.

overlaid only with gold. Every Babylonian is said to have worn an engraved gem, serving for his signet; and whose ordinary materials were the onyx, the sapphire, or the emerald.[135]. The diamond had not yet displayed its unrivalled brilliancy. In its natural state, this sovereign of the mineral kingdom is commonly a greyish flint, dull and dirty; its splendour and superior value is revealed only by cutting, the invention of Berquen of Bruges towards the close of the fifteenth century.[136] In the article of diet, the Babylonians are described as sparing. Like the Chinese and Hindoos, they lived chiefly on grains: the table is not the favourite luxury of any of those eastern nations. But the Babylonians delighted in perfumes, the use of which was universal, and with which, in their liquid state, the whole body was daily sprinkled.[137] Their native palms supplied them with a variety in their bread, and also yielded inferior sorts both of honey and of wine; they received palm-wine, and fruits in great quantities from Armenia[138]; nor was the more generous wine from grapes[139] excluded as a branch of the river commerce of Babylonia, until the sullen superstition of Mahomet banished conviviality with almost every social pleasure from the finest regions of the earth.

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Signets.

Table and personal luxuries.

[135] Ctesias, Indic.

[136] An. Dom. 1476. Merveilles des Indes par Berquen de Bruges, p. 15.

[137] Herodot. l. i. c. 195. & 199.

[138] Id. c. 194.

[139] Curtius, l. v. c. 1.

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Gems and dogs from northern India.

The commerce of the principal articles hitherto enumerated; gold, spices, and perfumes, we have already endeavoured to explain. But the country supplying the different gems abovementioned, might be a matter of uncertainty, were we not told that they came from the same quarter that yielded other luxuries, whose locality is clearly ascertained by their name and nature.[140] These are the famous Indian dogs, such essentials in Babylonian magnificence that whole districts were exempted from other tribute, that they might be enabled to defray their maintenance.[141] They are said to have been the mongrel brood of dogs and tigers[142], participating in the qualities of both. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, found them still in northern India, towards the middle of the thirteenth century. He compares them in size and strength to lions[143]; and, if they really combined with other excellencies, the docility and fidelity of the dog, their value must have been inestimable in the eyes of kings and satraps, whose favourite delight was hunting, both as the amusement of their idleness, and the gratification of their vanity.

[140] Ctesias, Indic. c. v. He also mentions, c. xxv. θηρια κερυθρα ωσπερ κινναβαρι, supposed to be cochineal, an article of great importance to the manufactures of Babylon and Borsippa.

[141] Herodot. l. i. c. 192. We shall see hereafter that they continued to be equally admired under the Greek kings of the East; and Sultan Bajazet, the unfortunate rival of Tamerlane, had among other servants of his household 12,000 dog-keepers. Chereseddin's Life of Tamerlane, vol. ii. p. 147.

[142] Aristot. Histor. Animal. l. viii. c. 28.

[143] Marco Polo in Romusio, ii. 35.

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Route to the Mediterranean sea.

Important as this eastern traffic might be considered, the western commerce of Babylon was not less considerable in itself, and is still more conspicuous in history. In human affairs there is generally a compensation throughout, unobserved by that careless impatience which views every question under one only, and that often a false aspect. The navigators of modern times precipitate their course through the widest seas, whereas those of antiquity timidly pursued their tedious way along the winding shores of deep bays and dangerous promontories. But the ancient caravans, on the other hand, penetrated fearlessly through broad deserts, in consequence of establishments formed there for their safety, with a perseverance of stubborn industry, unrivalled perhaps in any other line of exertion. Witness Palmyra or Tadmor in the Desert, and the numerous ruins between that useful wonder of art, and the staples of Emesa and Heliopolis[144], from which last the Babylonian traders were brought to the centre of the Mediterranean coast, teeming in every age of antiquity with rich and populous cities. This golden chain was often shattered by the iron rod of conquerors. The capital link was destroyed, when Nebuchadnezzar depopulated and demolished Tyre. But as commerce delights to resume the routes with which it has once become familiar, a new Tyre arose

[144] Pococke's Travels, p. 159. et seq.

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in the small island separated only by a narrow firth from the old.[145] Sidon, Aradus, and other Phœnician cities of less note escaped the vengeance of the destroyer; and were not backward to avail themselves of the commercial advantages accruing to them from the ruin of their overwhelming rival.[146]

Royal road.

Besides the route through the Syrian desert, connecting Babylon with the Phœnician seaports, another and a far longer line of communication between that great capital and the countries of the west, offered itself in what was called the royal road. By means of this road[147], the merchandize of Europe might reach the remote countries of the East. Amber, metals, and works of Grecian art, would easily bear the expence of a long conveyance by land. The Greek colonies early established on the northern shores of the Euxine, diffused the pelts and furs[148] of Sarmatia and Scythia over the central provinces of Asia; and, through the operation of mutual exchange, other European commodities, still heavier in proportion to their value, might sometimes find their way thither.

Maritime commerce of the Babylonians.

In every age of antiquity maritime commerce was an object of inferior importance, to that carried on by land. But Babylon, which had so great a share in the latter, could not, however, remain altogether destitute of the former, situate as that city is, in the neighbourhood of

[145] Plin. l. v. c. 19. [146] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 754.
[147] See above, p. 29. Conf. Herodot. l. v. c. 52. et seq.
[148] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 104. et seq.

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those seas and great rivers which lay open the central recesses of Asia, and therefore well adapted for participating in such traffic as was carried on by small vessels, whose number compensated for their want of bulk. In the Hebrew prophets, the Chaldæans, the principal cast or tribe of the Babylonians, are early characterized as a people "who raise the shout of joy in their ships."[149] The Chaldæans of Gerra, we know from good authority[150], supplied their great metropolis with Arabian and Indian merchandize. They often sailed three hundred miles up the Euphrates to Thapsacus; where part of them left their vessels, and becoming carriers by land, distributed their spices and perfumes through the neighbouring cities.[151] The Tigris could not be navigated on account of its rapidity to such a remote distance from its mouth. Yet the traffic of that river had raised a place called Opis, visited by Xenophon, to populousness and prosperity[152], though fifty miles distant from the site of Bagdad, and a hundred north of Babylon.

Navigation up the Euphrates and Tigris.

It should seem that, partly through this maritime colony of Gerra distant only two hundred miles from the mouth of the Euphrates, the Babylonians were furnished with those prodigious[153] masses of gold, which give an air of romance to

Chaldæans of Gerra —their commerce and opulence.

[149] Isaiah, c. xliii. v. 14. and Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 4. with Michaelis's notes. Conf. Heeren, Ideen, p. 640. et seq.

[150] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 766. [151] Id. ibid.

[152] Xenoph. Anabas, l. ii. p. 284.

[153] Diodor. l. iii. s. 12.

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their early history. The Gerræans maintained an intimate connection with Phœnician factories in the small isles of the Persian gulph, which traded, as we have seen, to Ophir or Sofala. They enjoyed an intercourse scarcely less advantageous with the emporia in the Red Sea, in the neighbourhood of the Ethiopian mines called under the Ptolemies Berenicé Panchrysos: mines opened from immemorial antiquity, and of which the working, though attended, in different ages, with very different degrees of profit, and often interrupted by the desolating invasions of Nomades, yet appears to have been continually renewed with fresh ardour, insomuch that the various operations, by which the pure metal was obtained, are described by Agatharchides, an eye witness, who examined the golden Berenicé under the reign of the VIth Ptolemy.[154] The magnificence of Gerra is said to have been worthy of the rich articles in which she dealt; spices, perfumes, gems, ebony, ivory, and gold. In their personal accommodations, her merchants rivalled the splendour of princes. Their houses displayed a profusion of the precious metals; and, while the roofs and porticoes were crowned with vases studded with jewels, the apartments were filled with sculptured tripods, and other household decorations, of which gold, ivory, and gems composed the sole materials.[155] Such superfluity of magnificence indicates a traffic for

[154] Agatharchides Cnidius apud Phot. c. ccl. p. 1322. et seq. and Geograph. Minor. Hudson, v. i. p. 22. et seq.

[155] Ibid.

which the Gerræans were well situate with that part of the African coast anciently visited by the Phœnicians, and the source of immense riches to them and their Hebrew allies.[156] Like other commercial enterprises of antiquity, the voyages to Ophir and Tarshish are mentioned but incidentally and sparingly. From hints[157] only, we know that the Tyrians continued to prosecute them immediately before the siege of their city by Nebuchadnezzar. How early the Chaldæans of Gerra, and also those of Teredon[158] near the mouth of the Euphrates, participated in this lucrative traffic[159], we are not enabled to determine; but, from the epithets bestowed on them by the prophets bespeaking a people peculiarly conversant in navigation, we may presume that they would not long neglect voyages the most profitable of any on record; and by which Babylonia might, in the course of ages, be supplied with great abundance of gold, independently of the vast accumulations made by conquest and tribute under the two first kings of Babylon, and the long line of Assyrian kings who reigned before them at Nineveh.

Customs of the Babylonians, relative to their extensive commerce.

When Babylon is considered as the seat of universal traffic, several insulated particulars touching its inhabitants, for which it has appeared difficult to account, will arrange themselves naturally in the general picture of commercial

[156] See above, p. 218.

[157] Ezekiel, c. xxvii.

[158] See above, p. 222.

[159] They still enjoyed it in the age of Alexander. Nearchus apud Arrian. Indic.

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manners. Of this remark, the institutions relative to the fair sex, and those regarding persons in a bad state of health, will serve for illustration. The reports of the rhetorical Curtius, ever fond of extremes, receive too much countenance from more authentic and graver authors [160], when he describes the shameless profligacy of the Babylonian women; especially those of inferior condition. The Greeks were struck with the freedom of intercourse between the sexes in this great capital, so unlike to the unsocial [161] jealousy of Orientals elsewhere, or even in this point, to their own forbidding austerity. Yet in Greece itself, the commercial Corinth exhibited an example of equal licentiousness: and the chain of great marts through Asia Minor, Pessinus, Morimena, Comana, and several other cities, proved the conflux of rich caravans not less pernicious to female modesty, than the concourse of fortunate navies and prodigal seamen. [162]

With regard to persons in bad health, Herodotus says, "they were carried to the squares and places of public resort, that they might be interrogated by passengers, and obtain advice

[160] Conf. Curtius, v. i. & Herodot. l. i. c. 197.

[161] Herodotus perhaps carries this observation too far, when he says the Persians had no places of public resort, not even public markets. Herodot. l. i. c. 153. Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 3. Edit. Leuncl. But Xenophon's Cyropædia is a philosophical romance.

[162] Τροπον γαρ τινα μικρα Κορινθος εστι ἡ πολις, Strabo, l. xvi. p. 559. He is speaking of Comana, but he uses the same expression repeatedly in speaking of the other staples.

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as to the cure of their complaints." [163] Such a custom might be attended with peculiar advantages in a city frequented by a succession of travelling merchants, headed, as we have seen, by persons conversant with medicine and all branches of useful science known in their times. [164] When Herodotus says, "the Babylonians had not physicians [165]," he means only that they had not a distinct cast or family exercising exclusively as in Greece anciently, and always in Egypt, the different branches of the healing art. [166] The profession was open for all who chose to engage in it, and the cordiality between natives and strangers, so desirable in a place of traffic, would be promoted by the maxim that it was uncivil in either to view, with insensibility, a suffering individual, or to decline entering into conversation with him. [167] Of Babylonians, as well as strangers at leisure for this office of humanity, there was always a sufficient number; for though the inferior classes were busily employed in trade and manufactures, in repairing or embellishing their immense city, and in retailing or transporting the different productions of their land and labour, yet the spacious squares of Babylon abounded with pompous idlers dressed in flowing robes [168], breathing precious perfumes, their heads adorned by the mitra, and bearing each in his hand, as a badge

[163] Herodot. l. i. c. 197.
[164] See above, p. 108. et seq.
[165] Herodot. ubi supra.
[166] Aristot. Politic.
[167] Id. ibid.
[168] Diodor. l. ii. c. 6. Conf. Herodot. c. 195.

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of distinction, a staff or cane [169], shaped at top into the form of a flower, a bird, or some other characteristic emblem. [170] Their hereditary opulence relieved such persons from care and labour; and it should seem, that the fashion of their country imposed on them the duty of using their best endeavours to mitigate disease and soothe sorrow.

[169] In remote times and places, the cane has been the badge of a gentleman. Addison somewhere says of a person remarkable for his native good breeding, that he seemed "born to a cane." The expression would now convey quite a different meaning.

[170] Herodot. ubi supra.

SURVEY.

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION V.

Application of the preceding Survey to Alexander's Undertakings in the East. — His Views with regard to the West. — The Historian Livy's Defiance. — State of Rome at that Period. — Of Carthage. — Alexander's Helps towards executing his boldest Projects. — Especially from Greeks in the three Divisions of the World. — Alexander's last Operations in Babylonia, connected with useful Establishments on his most remote Frontiers. — His Death and Testament.

SECT. V. Application of this survey.

By way of preparation for what is to follow, descriptions, particularly copious and circumstantial, belonged to royal residences and their surrounding imperial districts, because, in the course of the history, our attention will more frequently be recalled to them. Upon a similar principle I have adjusted the proportion assigned to subordinate kingdoms and provinces, that, wherever the scene is transported, the reader

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may have some previous knowledge of the actors; especially of their local circumstances, and of their moral and military habits. From the whole survey, we shall be enabled to discern the intent of undertakings which Alexander, indeed, lived not to carry into execution, but which serve to evince his knowledge, both of the materials with which he had to work, and of the lessons which historical experience afforded. Two circumstances, chiefly, cast an air of romance on the reign of a conqueror, equally sagacious and successful. First, designs altogether extravagant have been ascribed to him; and secondly, no clear explanation has been given of his helps towards accomplishing the vast projects which he really entertained. Should we credulously listen to later writers among the Greeks and Romans, when those nations had too evidently lost a due relish for truth together with their manly spirit and their liberty, Alexander aimed at nothing less than the subjugation of the whole habitable world: poets and artists carried the exaggeration farther, and represented him in the childish attitude of crying for new worlds to conquer[1]: ridiculous and tasteless fictions! totally disclaimed by Aristobulus and Ptolemy, his companions in arms, and biographers. From such contemporary authorities, it is yet possible to assign the real and proper limits which Alexander had

[1] Ælian. Var. Histor. l. iv. c. 29. Conf. Juvenal, Satyr xv. v. 168. Ælian whimsically ascribes Alexander's mad ambition to his perusal of Democritus's treatise on the plurality of worlds.

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prescribed to himself in the North, South, East, and West; to explain the measures which he had taken or projected for securing his most remote boundaries; to describe his arrangements towards uniting all of them with the centre, Babylon; and thus cementing, by laws and arts, as well as by arms and victories, the extremities, as they were then deemed, of the commercial world. Having discussed these topics, I shall relate circumstantially his operations in the imperial district of Babylonia, where chiefly, he spent the last fifteen months of his life; and where the scene of the following history opens, with the dissensions among his generals, about the succession to his empire.

Principles on which Alexander established his boundaries.

According to authentic historians, Alexander bounded his empire northward, by the Danube and the Jaxartes. In a former part of this work, we have seen his proceedings on the banks of these great rivers, which flow respectively into the Euxine and Caspian; and had occasion to observe with what admirable prudence he avoided an useless conflict with the Scythian nations beyond them, at the same time, that he adopted the surest means for overawing such irreclaimable barbarians, and confining them in future within their native wilderness. The bleak Scythian desert led to nothing more valuable beyond it: the reverse was the case with the burning sands of Arabia. The southern shores of that peninsula were immemorially inhabited by the Sabæans, an industrious and enlightened people, cultivating the

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most valuable productions, and carrying on many rich branches of commerce.

His measures for exploring and subduing Arabia.

Alexander, we are told, had formed the resolution of penetrating thither [2]; and as his armies were to be accompanied and seconded by fleets, (the best means for securing success,) he had, shortly after his return to Babylon, sent down successively into the Persian gulph three vessels for exploring and examining the contiguous coasts. [3] The first of these vessels, commanded by Archias, proceeded only to Tylos or Tyrus, formerly mentioned as a well-known mart of the Phœnicians, and still subsisting as the centre of the modern fishery for pearls. The second vessel, navigated by Androsthenes, advanced but a little farther; and even Hiero, a Greek of Cilicia, by whom the third ship was conducted, far less surpassed his precursors, than he fell short of the object which his employer had recommended to him; which was to circumnavigate the whole of Arabia from the mouth of the Euphrates to the inmost recess of the Red Sea. [4] But Hiero barely beheld Cape Syagros, the great eastern promontory; and, after viewing the conflict of the waves there, hastened back to describe this forbidden obstacle, in nearly the same terms of exaggeration [5], which were

[2] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 785.

[3] Arrian, de Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 19. et seq.

[4] Arrian says to "Heroopolis," the capital of an ancient Egyptian Nome, and now forty miles inland from Suez, the modern seaport.

[5] Faria y Souza, Portug. Asia, vol. i. p. 46.

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used by the first Portuguese mariners, who saw, without doubling, the Cape of Good Hope. But Alexander was alike proof against fear and imposture; with him the voyages hitherto undertaken were mere preludes; and, at the fatal moment which terminated all his projects, Nearchus the friend of his youth and admirer of his virtue, who had already conducted a great fleet in safety from the Indus to the Tigris, was prepared[6] to resume the circumnavigation of Arabia with an assured prospect of success. Had this design been carried into execution, facilities would thereby have been afforded for counteracting by fleets of victuallers the natural sterility of the country; and Alexander, who had defeated and overawed the firmer Scythians, would easily have surmounted the disunited hostility of the Arab tribes; an hostility never formidable to well-disciplined armies, before the congenial enthusiasm of Mahomet gave to the whole nation one direction, or rather animated it with one soul. By the reduction of the intervening territory, the Macedonian dominions southward would have been defined by the region of perfumes on both sides of the Red Sea; the Adel and Yemen of eastern geographers, or the two Ethiopias of the Greeks.[7]

For consolidating his conquests in Hindostan.

With regard to his eastern limits, Alexander having occupied the mountainous inlets to Hindostan, erected them into the satrapy of Paro-

[6] Arrian, l. vii. c. 25. & Histor. Indic. c. 20.
[7] Strabo, l. i. p. 30.

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pamisus; a province famous in modern times as the primitive seat of the Afghans or Abdalli, and the root of their powerful kingdom of Candahar, now of Cabul, which has arisen with such rapidity upon the divisions and disasters of the Persian and Mogul empires. Through this elevated district, he proceeded above three hundred miles to Taxila on the Indus[8], over-ran the country watered by that great river and its tributary eastern streams, treated his vanquished enemies with most admired generosity, raised the fortresses of Nicæa and Bucephalia on the Hydaspes, and erected his stupendous altars on the Hyphasis.[9] Having returned to Taxila, now Attock, on the Indus, he traversed southward from that city an extent of nearly seven hundred miles to the sea; built the strong-hold of Pattala, now Tatta, at the top of the Indian Delta[10]; and then proceeded homeward in person with his army, while his fleet was committed to Nearchus to explore the coasts of the Erythræan sea between India and Assyria. With this bold outline, the subordinate parts corresponded. The highlands of Paropamisus, he observed, separate the waters of that part of Asia; and the courses of the Indus, Oxus, and other great rivers, formed those deep valleys affording the only safe passes either for armies or caravans. By building Alexandria, now Candahar, he chose the fittest site for securing

[8] Taxila is 345 miles from the city of Candahar.

[9] Arrian, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

[10] Strabo, l. xv. p. 701.

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the communication between India and Persia; and by means of a more northern Alexandria, now Cabul [11], he connected, in like manner, the former country with Bactriana, whose capital Bactra enjoyed an early commercial intercourse with the emporia on the Caspian and Euxine seas, and through them with many flourishing cities in Lesser Asia. [12]

In his return from India, Alexander, it is well known, penetrated through the inhospitable solitudes of Carmania and Gedrosia; and from this, the least profitable of all his expeditions, he could only learn that, in the actual state of these frightful regions, no safe communication by them could possibly be introduced. But, on the skirts of these dreary wastes, having discovered that fertility began with the Arachosian and Arian mountains, he founded two Alexandrias, respectively in Aria and Arachosia, and also the strong-hold of Prophthasia in Saranga, which, with many other cities less conspicuous or less permanent, formed a chain of fortresses and factories upon the most direct central route from the Indus to the Euphrates. [13] These un-

[11] The ancient and modern cities, if not precisely on the same site, were so near to each other as in a commercial point of view to answer the same purposes.

[12] The communication passed by the Oxus, Caspian, Cyrus, Phasis, Euxine. From the Cyrus, to Sarapana on the Phasis, there was a patent road travelled in four days by waggons. Strabo, xi. 498.

[13] Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo. See particularly Strabo, l. xi. p. 514. & l. xv. p. 723. In delineating these eastern routes, he has always Alexander in view. Conf. Isidor. Characen. apud Hudson's Geograph. Minor. D'Anville, Eclairciss. p. 19. and Rennell's Memoir, p. 171.

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dertakings for maintaining an intercourse with India by land and sea, perfectly accord with his transactions above related with its native princes; and both unitedly attest his resolution of acquiring a paramount authority in Hindostan, which, had he lived solidly to establish, would have carried back, by the space of 2000 years, the æra of European domination over that remote but most valuable region of Asia.

His projects with regard to the western shores of the Mediterranean.

In the west only, the designs of Alexander stopped short at bare projects. But a prince, who had proceeded to the country of spices, and taken measures for penetrating to the country of perfumes, could not overlook objects yet more important in commerce, and chiefly abounding in Spain, or Tartessus, at the western extremity of the Mediterranean. The desire of exploring this country, which formed the Peru and Mexico of antiquity[14], had determined Alexander to carry his arms to the pillars of Hercules. With this view, we are told, he had been careful to inform himself concerning the countries situate to the west of Greece and Egypt; and, through the assistance of plans furnished to him by Phœnicians and Greeks who had long frequented these coasts, he judiciously selected, and marked with his own hand, the sites best fitted for harbours and emporia, docks and arsenals. Spacious roads were to be drawn along the tracts most convenient for caravans; many protecting temples

[14] See above, p. 215.

were to be erected; and the whole circuit of the Mediterranean was to be commanded by fleets and armies, sufficient to restrain depredation by sea and land, and to overawe the native barbarians of Africa and of the west of Europe.[15] SECT. V.

This bold project should seem to have provoked the patriotic indignation of the prince of Roman historians. In the longest digression of an immortal work, which seldom turns aside from commemorating the proud series of consular triumphs, Livy[16], in speaking of Papirius Cursor, who was contemporary with the Macedonian hero, undertakes to examine, what would have been the issue of the conflict, had this hitherto matchless warrior carried his arms into Italy. The extraordinary exploits of Alexander, he says, had often been the subject of his own secret wonder; yet, with all his renowned greatness, had he come into competition with the Romans, it is the historian's belief that he must have been foiled in the contest. My readers are acquainted with the great military establishment and admirable tactics of the Macedonians; they know that the phalanx, as organized by Alexander, was indeed a very different instrument of victory from that employed a century afterwards by the Antiochuses and the Ptolemies; and they will see presently vast armies wielded with skill by his warlike captains, who divided amongst them his empire. But, Livy's patriotic defiance to him.

[15] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 4. & Plutarch in Alexand.

[16] L. ix. c. 16. et seq.

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at the time when Livy makes his countrymen challenge, as it were, this prince to battle, the force of Rome exceeded not ten legions[17]; her dominion did not extend over a fourth part of Italy; she was distracted with perpetual hostilities against her subjects, her allies, her revolted colonies, and twenty independent nations beyond them. Fifty years before Alexander, Rome had been burned by the Gauls; and four years after his demise, two consular armies were, at the Caudine Forks, passed under the yoke by the Samnites. "Yet great," as Livy says, "was the fortune of Rome;" but, to use the words of an historian and soldier, better qualified to appreciate the resources of war, "her fortune was greatest in this, that Alexander died in his 33d year, before he found leisure to invade and conquer Italy."[18]

His views with regard to Carthage — State of that republic.

In extending the empire to its projected western boundary, the conqueror, it may be conjectured, would have met with less formidable opposition from Rome than from the destined rival of the Roman name; long persecuted as her enemy, at last cruelly immolated as her victim. The foundation of Carthage on that part of the African coast which advances into the Mediterranean to meet, as it were, and defy Italy and Sicily, preceded by the space of 115 years the foundation of Rome; and the former republic had made proportionably still more rapid advances towards wealth, strength, and prospe-

[17] The legion then contained only 4000 foot and 300 horse.

[18] Raleigh's History of the World, c. iv. p. 3.

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rity.[19] Commanding 1500 miles along the African coast, she carried on the inland commerce of that vast continent. Her powerful navy was nourished and upheld by the rich maritime traffic which it protected to all the western coasts of the Mediterranean. The silver-mines which the Carthaginians wrought in Spain, and the gold of Ethiopia, attracted to their standard Numidians, Gauls, Iberians; the fiercest nations in Africa and Europe. The western division of Sicily; Sardinia, Corsica, with all the lesser isles in the Tuscan sea, formed the appendages of their empire. The most dangerous wars that they had yet waged, had been with the Greeks in Sicily; with those of the same nation who had occupied Massilia, or Marseilles, and its surrounding district in Gaul; and with those who, two centuries after the foundation of Carthage, established themselves on the projecting coast of Cyrené in Africa, which, in point of geography, bears the same relation to Crete and the Peloponnesus that Carthage herself holds with regard to Sicily and Italy. The great losses sustained in those wars, an industrious commercial nation had speedily repaired; and Carthage now seemed to stand firm with her wealth, her shipping, and wide-extended dominion. Yet her security resulted wholly from the premature death of Alex-

[19] Carthage was in her meridian greatness at the æra of Agathocles's invasion, 13 years after the death of Alexander, and 56 years before her first war with Rome. Her condition at the former period will be described in a subsequent part of this work, chiefly from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and Strabo.

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ander, which intercepted his progress westward. This we may affirm on solid historical grounds; for, only a dozen years after that fatal event, we shall see Agathocles of Syracuse fail in his Carthaginian invasion chiefly through the mutiny of his Greek troops. Alexander needed not, like Agathocles, to have invaded Carthage by sea; he was master of Egypt; he had explored the route to the Oasis of Hammon, the most difficult part of the journey from Egypt to Cyrené; and from Cyrené, as we shall see in due time, armies less inured to fatigue and danger than those which had pervaded the barren sands of Carmania and Gedrosia, might find their way safely to Carthage. The fate of that flourishing republic in its reduction under the Macedonians, would have presented a less unworthy spectacle than its cruel subversion by the relentless enmity of Rome; for Alexander, whose breast was not to be disturbed by any emotions of jealous rivalship, would, as in other instances[20], have left to the Carthaginians, their laws, their shipping, and their opulence; and, requiring only a slight acknowledgment of his supremacy, have admitted them as one of the most important links in the golden chain of well-protected commerce, in which he laboured to unite the most distant nations.

His resources in the Greek colonies

For effecting this salutary purpose, the above statistical survey has shewn us how great and manifold resources he possessed in the strenuous

[20] Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. passim.

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domestic industry of the Egyptians and Assyrians; in the bold trading expeditions by land of the Ethiopians, Arabians, and Indo-Scythians; and in the rich foreign traffic, the invaluable manufactures, and extensive maritime connections of the Sabæans and Phœnicians. Besides all these materials, so well fitted for consolidation into the vast fabric which he had projected, the firmest cement and brightest ornaments of the edifice were still to be found in his own nation; I mean in the activity, ingenuity, and enterprise of Greek colonies, diffused through all parts of the ancient world.

settled in the three divisions of the world.

In the great central peninsula of Asia, his desired work had by means of these colonies already been effected, and the foundations of public prosperity had long been established. The three sides of that peninsula, extending sixteen hundred miles from Trapezus or Trebisond to the Syrian gates near Issus, abounded with Greek cities governed on the republican plan, whose institutions, both civil and religious, the conqueror was studious to uphold. This long line of civilization and industry was farther protracted by the valuable coast of Syria, where Greeks were intermixed with not less busy Phœnicians. In the near vicinity of Phœnicia, Egypt was growing into a Greek kingdom; and Alexandria, with its crowded harbours, was fast rising[21] to that commercial pre-eminence which,

Those along the peninsula of Asia.

[21] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 792. Conf. Aristot. de Cura Rei-familiaris, Opera, vol. ii. p. 509. Alexandria non sensim ut aliæ urbes, sed, inter initia prima, aucta per spatiosos ambitus. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii.

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as Alexander's schemes with regard to Babylon failed through his premature death, the capital of the Ptolemies was destined to maintain during the course of eighteen centuries. From the confines of Egypt, the Greeks of Cyrené then governed, as we shall see, by the wisdom and equity of Mantinæan[22] laws, pushed their dominion five hundred miles westward; so that the unbroken line of European colonization along the coasts of Asia and Africa considerably exceeded the length of the Mediterranean sea, accurately estimated by the ancients at 2400 Roman miles.[23]

On the Euxine and Mæotis.

On the opposite, or European side, the conqueror's views would have been seconded by the zeal of ancient Greece, and her flourishing colonies in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and Spain. The narrow seas, joining the Mediterranean and Euxine, washed his dominions in Thrace, and were commanded by his fleets: and in this quarter also he would have found fit instruments for his boldest and most beneficial projects. Towards these rugged regions of the north, the Greeks, and particularly the Ionians, had early diffused their industrious colonies. Their principal cities were Olbia at the mouth of the Borysthenes or Dnieper; Panticapæum and Theodosia in the Tauric Chersonesus; Phanagorium on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, with a chain of seaports terminating in the harbour of Tanais, near the

[22] Aristot. Politic. l. vi. c. 4.

[23] Polybius, Specileg. ex l. xxxiv. A Roman mile is to an English as 0.91 to 1.

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inmost recess of the Palus Mæotis.[24] One great object of these establishments is explained by the father of history. From the northern shores of the Euxine, the enterprising colonists extended their settlements 350 miles inland to the country of the Geloni, in conjunction with whom the Greeks inhabited a wooden city 12 miles in circuit, the immemorial staple of the fur trade.[25] This wooden city, which should seem to have stood near the site of the modern Woronez in Russia[26], appears to have maintained a constant communication with the continent and islands of ancient Greece; for I doubt not that the far-famed Hyperboreans, who sent regular offerings to Delos[27], were no other than the Greek colonies in those remote northern regions.

Massilia, or Marseilles — Its history and institutions.

The main western colony of the Greeks was the famous Massilia, or Marseilles. To this shore, already well known to their traders, and on which some feeble settlements should seem to have been previously established, the maritime Phocæans had transported themselves from Ionia 540 years before the Christian æra. The motive of their migration was to escape from the persecuting tyranny of the Persians.[28] They aban-

[24] Strabo, Pliny, Dionys. Perieget. [25] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 104.

[26] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 93.

[27] These offerings passed through the hands of many Scythian nations to the Hadriatic. The Dodonæans were the first Greeks who received them. From Dodona they were carried to the Malian gulph. From thence they travelled to Carystus in Eubœa. The Carystians transported them to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 33.

[28] Herodotus, l. i. c. 164. & Justin, l. xliii. c. 3.

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doned their possessions for the sake of their freedom, and carried with them to their new country in Gaul, their laws and arts, together with the revered rites of Ephesian Diana, and the adventurous spirit of their commerce. As they increased in populousness and power, they diffused their colonies on both sides of the rocky shores of Marseilles, and particularly over the extent of 150 miles from the mouth of the Rhone to that of the Var.[29] Their establishments at Rhoé, Antipolis, Olbia, and Nicæa, deserved the name of cities. The Stæcades or Hieres isles[30] were among their earliest possessions, and highly cultivated by their industry. At the mouth of the Rhone, they also occupied the small island between its two principal branches, which they adorned with a temple of Diana. The whole of their territory was favourable to the production of wine and oil, articles which they knew how to procure in perfection, manfully to defend, and to sell to the best advantage. Their institutions were, indeed, equally well adapted to the opposite states of war and peace. In point of military engines and arsenals, Marseilles is compared with Cyzicus[31] and Rhodes, two Greek cities conspicuous for these advantages. Their frontiers were secured by fortresses on the land side, and they had gained signal victories at sea over the Tuscans and Carthaginians. Their government was in the hands of a senate of six

[29] Strabo, l. iv. p. 180. et seq.

[30] They consist of three large, and two smaller, islands.

[31] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 653.

hundred, who held their offices for life, and of a lesser council of fifteen, who conducted the current affairs, and successively presided in the senate.[32] Their laws were public, precise, and equal; no armed man was admitted within their city; their hospitality[33] to strangers procured for them extraordinary good-will among Greeks and Barbarians. Many of their institutions had in view the preservation of that propriety, decency, and dignity, which, in a well-ordered state, ought to exalt the human character. No licentious festivals, particularly no corrupting comedies, were permitted at Marseilles: at funerals all unmanly lamentations were forbidden: the marriage-portions of women were limited to one hundred aurei, and only the twentieth part of that sum could be expended in dress or in ornaments.[34] In later times, Marseilles became the source of light and information to the neighbouring provinces of France, Spain[35], and Italy; and was frequented by the Romans, scarcely less than Athens itself, as a school of Greek learning. But, before the age of Alexander, this remote colony had obtained nearly the full measure of its strength and wealth; and, in the reign of that prince, the voyages of Pytheas of Marseilles illustrated the enterprising spirit by

[32] Strabo, l. iv. p. 179. [33] Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6.

[34] Strabo & Valerius Maximus, ibid. Conf. Cicero Oratio pro Flacco, c. lxiii.

[35] We shall see below, Emporiæ and Saguntum, Greek colonies in Spain, connecting the history of the Romans and Carthaginians; and occasioning, a century after Alexander's death, the most memorable war between them.

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which his countrymen were animated. Pytheas circumnavigated the British isles; he sailed even to Thule, *Iceland*.* His accounts of those far-distant and unknown lands were disgraced, perhaps, by exaggerations and fictions; though some of his reports which have been branded as the vilest fables, rather reflect disgrace on those who ignorantly rejected them.[36]

The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily.

But the helps to be found in Gaul were then inconsiderable in comparison with the assistance which Alexander might have derived from either division of Magna Græcia. In the age preceding his own, the petty tyrant of Syracuse had fitted out four hundred ships of war from a single harbour. The same Dionysius commanded an army of 120,000 foot, and 20,000 horse.[37] During the intermediate space of time, the resources of the Sicilians had not diminished; those of their brethren in Italy were flourishing and powerful. The fame of Alexander filled the remotest of those countries; and while, in contemplating his victories, the Spartans maintained a proud silence, and the Athenians too often indulged the loquacity of anger and envy[38],

[36] In Thule, for example, Pytheas said that the elements were combined in a certain chaotic mixture, resembling the fishes called Mollia by naturalists. See my Analysis of Aristotle, vol. i. p. 147. 8vo. edit. But this allusion to the Mollia plainly indicates the vast quantities of sea-plants found on the shores of the northern ocean, extending over vast tracts of country, and often rising in masses above six feet high. In those regions of Cimmerian darkness, Pytheas discerned only that soft slippery substance resembling Mollia which he trod under foot. Vid. Martinet in Act. Harlem. apud Schweigh. in Polyb. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

[37] Diodorus Siculus, l. xiv. s. 47. [38] Livy, l. viii. c. 18.

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all the other various communities of Greeks, which in their dispersion over so many coasts and islands, cannot be estimated at less than 20 millions of souls[39], were forward to associate themselves to the glory of an enlightened and liberal conqueror, who protected their laws, encouraged their arts; and, together with their arms and their commerce, diffused also their institutions, their language, and their learning, over the finest countries of antiquity.

The inter course which Alexander meant to establish realized on a larger scale.

Had Alexander lived to consolidate his conquests within the limits above assigned, the unrestrained intercourse of the ancient world would have nearly accorded with what the discovery of America realized, on a still larger scale, in the modern. The precious metals of Spain, (for it abounded in both sorts,) would have been freely and securely exchanged for the invaluable native productions of India and Arabia, and for the manufactures of many industrious intermediate countries. The western division of this huge mass of empire, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates, was afterwards conquered, and long governed, by the Romans; and the eastern, from the Euphrates to the Hyphasis, was that portion of his conquests which, from the precautions that Alexander had taken, would have been the most easily retained.

His multifarious improve-

By choosing, in the centre of this vast territory, Babylon for "the house of his kingdom[40]"

[39] Of this, more will be said hereafter.

[40] Conf. Daniel, c. iv. v. 30. & Strabo, l. xv. p. 731. οὐδε τοῦθ' ἡγειτο το βασιλειον, αλλα τον Βαβυλωνα, &c.

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ments in Babylonia.

he complied at once with the invitation of great natural advantages, and the example of former masters of the East, who had reared their successive capitals on the rich Babylonian plain, peculiarly productive in grain, and of unrivalled conveniency for building. From its intermediate situation, Babylon, before it was oppressed by Persian tyranny, had anciently been the goal and main rendezvous of Asiatic caravans. Alexander, while he restored this inland traffic of the Babylonians, purposed also to revive and greatly extend their ancient commerce by sea.[41] In this design, he is said to have been encouraged by the successful voyage of Nearchus, which had joined Assyria with India; and the wisdom of his undertaking is confirmed by the reports of modern navigators, who inform us that many harbours on the Persian gulph admit vessels drawing twelve feet water; a depth fully sufficient for the largest Grecian gallies, and more than sufficient for the round flat-bottomed merchantmen of antiquity. In prosecution of an enterprise bearing the united stamps of grandeur and utility, while proper persons were employed by Alexander to repair or embellish the temples and palaces, the parks or paradises, of Babylon, the king surveyed with his own eyes the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, above and below that city. In the course of this examination, he every where removed the artificial obstacles with which the

[41] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 20.

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commerce of these great rivers had been interrupted by the cowardice or jealousy of the Persians.[42] With a similar view, he formed a harbour at Babylon, fit to contain a thousand galleys, and furnished with large galleries or porticoes, under cover of which that number of sail might, according to the ancient fashion, be occasionally hauled on shore.[43] The native cypress of Babylonia was employed in the construction of innumerable small craft; and for building larger ships, as the remote Hyrcanian forest was laid under contribution[44], the vast woods in Armenia could not be overlooked, since these great magazines of timber, being near to the Tigris and Euphrates, might be floated with much ease to Babylonia. To Thapsacus on the Euphrates, one hundred and fifty miles above Babylon, he caused to be conveyed over-land from Phœnicia thirty long vessels, with single banks of oars, and twenty trireme galleys built by the best Phœnician artizans. To prepare them for this conveyance, the ships were taken in pieces[45]: they were reconstructed at Thapsacus, and thence sailed proudly down the river, being intended by Alexander to serve as models

[42] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. & Arrian, l. vii. c. 7. After such indubitable testimonies, Niebuhr's opinion, vol. ii. p. 307. "that these obstructions were dykes for keeping up the waters to a fit level for the purposes of irrigation;" this opinion, I say, deserves only to be mentioned, because advanced by a traveller in high estimation.

[43] Arrian, l. vii. c. 19.

[44] Plutarch in Alexander, Arrian, & Diodorus.

[45] Arrian, ibid.

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His agricultural survey of this country.

in the formation of future navies, which unhappily never existed but in fancy.[46]

The barbarous policy of the Persians had ruined the foreign traffic of Assyria. Under the same odious tyranny, agriculture and manufactures had also fallen to decay. Alexander, with impartial attention to every species of useful industry, examined and improved[47] the reservoirs of water, and canals, indispensable in a country, where all is desert, that cannot be duly supplied with moisture; and where all is of exuberant fertility, that can be flooded and drained at the proper seasons. To encourage the labours of his workmen in this essential undertaking, he committed himself, in a slight vessel, to the intricacy of reedy lakes, and the unwholesomeness of slimy ditches. Although the greater canals of Assyria had been long neglected and exhausted, there remained (and they still remain to the present day) two artificial lakes with channels joining them to the Euphrates. One of these lakes, directly west of Babylon, is now distinguished by the tomb of Hosein[48]; the

[46] Only six years after Alexander's death, the Euphrates was navigated for the last time by two Grecian galleys, the sole remains of all his mighty preparations. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 12.

[47] Αλεξανδρῳ γαρ τας λιμνας επι χρειᾳ τῳ τον Ευφρατην την Ασσυριδα γην αρδευειν, παραπλεοντι, &c. Appian, Syriac. c. 56. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 741. How is it possible to imagine with Niebuhr, that the same person who made such exertions for the benefits of agriculture in one part of the country, should have removed the weirs or dams essential to irrigation in another? Vid. Niebuhr ubi supra; and see Alexander's attention to agriculture in the midst of his conquests, in Arrian's Indic. c. 40.

[48] See the tragic history of Hosein and of his father the Caliph

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other, thirty miles south of it, is distinguished by the tomb of Ali; and it is worthy of remark, that these tombs of Mahommedan saints should now supply [49] the place of ancient sepulchres of Babylonian priests and princes, (since the sacerdotal cast in Babylon united, like the descendants of Mahomet, both characters,) carefully examined and even repaired by Alexander in the course of his agricultural survey. Upon the canal Pallacopas, leading to the more southern of the two lakes, the operations of the Macedonian workmen were of the most beneficial tendency. The Pallacopas, though bearing the appearance of a natural river, was not fed by springs, nor replenished by mountain snows, but flowing from the main trunk of the Euphrates, served to moderate its redundant force by diverting part of its waters into the sea, through various and scarcely perceptible outlets. But this salutary drain, being carried through too soft a soil, gradually scooped out and sunk its oosy bed; so that the Euphrates continued still to enter it after the summer inundation had ceased, and thereby lost that elevation necessary at other seasons for refreshing and fertilizing the adust Babylonian plain. Upon a careful examination of the circumjacent district, Alexander discovered, only three miles distant from the head of the Pallacopas, a hard and rocky

Ali in Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 64. et seq. & p. 144. et seq.

[49] Conf. Arrian, l. vii. c. 22. & Niebuhr, vol. iii. p. 181.

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bottom. Through this firm ground, he commanded a new canal to be drawn; and the water being made thus to flow between solid banks, the inundations of the Euphrates were fitly controuled at one season, without too much depressing its surface at another. [50]

Incident that happened in it.

After this essential service had been rendered to Babylonia, the king with a sailor's cap on his head, and steering his own vessel, followed the lower course of the Pallacopas, and surveyed the many turbid pools and reedy marshes, which, through a long series of neglect, deformed the southern coast. On this occasion, a trivial occurrence gave birth to wonderful reports. A sudden gust of wind uncovered Alexander's head; his heavy cap fell near to him, and sunk in the water, but the encircling fillet or diadem floated at random in the air, till intercepted and caught among the reeds growing out of the lofty tomb of an ancient Assyrian king. A Tyrian mariner sprang into the lake to recover the royal ornament; and, lest it should be soiled in the muddy water, wound it about his own brows, and thus swam back to Alexander. The king ordered the Phœnician's activity to be rewarded with a talent of silver; but his accompanying priests pronounced sentence of death, on the man who had wantonly usurped the peculiar badge of sovereignty. This superstitious cruelty was however restrained through Alexander's humane interference; and the sen-

[50] Arrian, l. vii. c. 21.

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tence of death commuted for a slight corporal punishment. At a certain distance of time, when the circumstances of this incident were forgotten, the unguarded assumption of the diadem was transferred from an ignoble and nameless mariner to Seleucus Nicator, that in him it might be credulously construed into an omen of future greatness.[51]

New city founded.

Having completed his survey of the Pallacopas, and its adjacent marshes, for the waters of which he provided proper outlets, Alexander terminated his progress through southern Babylonia, by the selection of a fit site for a stronghold and garrison. The place soon grew into a city peopled chiefly by Greeks incapable of field-service, and by such others of their countrymen as wished to repose from their military labours in a remote and long-neglected territory, to which their master had determined to restore its ancient and natural pre-eminence.[52]

Ship races on the Babylonian rivers.

Upon his return to Babylon from this peaceful expedition, Alexander, besides new levies of Barbarians, armed and disciplined after the Greek fashion, was joined by numerous bands of sailors, attracted by great bounties and the promise of high wages, from the sea-faring cities around the Mediterranean; among whom are particularly specified those who fished for the purple shell, not only on the coast of Phœnicia, but on many neighbouring shores.[53] The short

[51] Arrian, l. vii. c. 22.
[52] Arrian & Strabo, l. xv.
[53] Arrian, l. vii. c. 19.

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remainder of his life was spent in military or naval reviews, and memorable for the novelty of ship-races[54] on the Euphrates and Tigris; an entertainment coupled with designs of much utility, and exhibited for the first, and unfortunately the last time, on the great Babylonian rivers.

His operations in Babylonia connected with others at the remote extremes of his empire.

The premature death of Alexander was lamented by many, who seized not what is truly most lamentable in his story. His campaigns and battles have been described, but the more characteristic glories of his reign are shewn to us by parcels, without that clear representation of the whole, which can alone give to each distinctive feature its proper beauty and brilliancy. His transactions in Babylon were indeed intimately connected with his useful and magnificent establishments on the Indus and the Jaxartes; with his operations in the forests of Hyrcania, and the contiguous iron-mines of Margiana; and with the projected elongations of his empire to the outlying emporiums of Ethiopia and Tartessus. His ascendency over the whole, he should seem to have deemed necessary to the best improvement of the parts: but, in consequence of this ambitious reasoning, how multifarious soever his exertions, their ends were simple and definite; to enliven arts and industry, to introduce mutually beneficial intercourse, to harmonize institutions and manners.

[54] Arrian, c. 23. At Hillah, the site of Babylon, the Euphrates is fifteen feet deep, when its waters are low. Rich's Memoir, p. 13.

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On the stock of conveniency or necessity, he studied to engraft the refinements of elegance, and the charms of social pleasure. Commerce was to be cultivated, not merely as the procuress of superfluous luxuries, but that the interchange of commodities might produce a reciprocation of sentiment and affection; and that the free, equal, and unobstructed communication among men of different countries, might remove those local prejudices which prevented them from viewing each other as brethren. [55]

Singular liberality of his policy.

With a view to this liberal policy, the famous nuptials were celebrated (ten thousand in a single day) between Greeks and Barbarians: the Asiatics of distinction were carefully disciplined not merely in the arms, but in the arts and attainments of their European conquerors; and, as various colonies of Europeans had established themselves in Asia and Africa, other colonies in return were to be transported from those quarters of the world, and accommodated with secure settlements in Europe. [56] The same generous spirit pervaded all his arrangements, military, financial, and political. [57] In the judicious distribution of his

[55] To perceive the full merit of Alexander in this particular, our fancy must transport us to ancient times. In those ages the Greeks treated all other nations as Barbarians: the Romans denoted a stranger and an enemy by one and the same word. Cicero, de Offic. l. i. c. 12. Local antipathies still more bitter prevailed, as we have seen, in Asia and Africa.

[56] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 4.

[57] He effected what Isocrates had recommended to Philip, intro-

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troops, his garrisons served the useful purpos of staples or factories, of academies and gymnasia. Imposts were moderate, and his collectors amenable to the laws on the smallest violation of justice. He allowed no people to tyrannize over another, and least of all his own haughty Macedonians, thereby restoring that equality and confidence which is the vital spring of all productive and commercial industry. Before this spring had been broken by the despotism of nations over nations, we have seen the wonderful exertions of the Babylonians and Egyptians for the extension of agriculture, and the singular institutions by which the Egyptian priests endeavoured to wean their subjects from a pastoral and wandering life. History is full of the labours of Alexander towards the same end, even during the progress of his conquests[58]; an end of the utmost importance, since the preponderancy of barbarous Nomades has ever proved the greatest bane both of Asia and Africa.

He formed plans of inimitable boldness.

By the arrangements which he made, and the style of war which he introduced, the central and civilized nations of the East remained secure for nearly a century after him, against the fierce rovers of either the northern or southern deserts. This advantage, peculiar to

ducing, instead of Barbaric despotism, the mildness of an unwearied and provident administration. Βαρβαρικης δεσποτειας απαλλαχθεντες, Ελληνικης επιμελειας τυχωσι. Orat. ad Philipp.

[58] Strabo, l. xi. Pliny, l. vi. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

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that period of time, together with the extent and contiguity of his dominions, entitled him to form plans of inimitable boldness. We have seen the vast multiplicity of his resources and auxiliaries. But the greatest resource of all was in his own mind. To attain personal excellence, no exertion seemed laborious; to promote excellence in others, no attention and no expence was spared. In one gratuity he bestowed eight hundred talents towards the improvement of natural history[59]: a sum that bore no inconsiderable proportion to the annual pay of the army, with which he had achieved his conquests. On another occasion he sent ten thousand talents into Greece, to defray the repairs of temples and other public edifices.[60] Alive to every kind of honourable talent, he entered with deep interest into the competitions of painters and musicians, showering liberality on those to whom the prize of merit had been adjudged, even contrary to the partial wishes of his private friendship[61], and the man, who displayed such munificence in matters less immediately connected with his favourite purposes, could not be expected less eager in sharpening the dexterity of engineers, architects, shipbuilders, and all those agents or instruments by which his great royal works were to be effected. During the fervour of youth and the career of victory, he so nicely discriminated between impossibilities and mere difficulties, that none of

[59] Athenæus, l. ix. p. 398.
[60] Plutarch in Alexand.
[61] Plutarch in Alexand.

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his undertakings failed, nor were any of his projects likely to prove abortive. Upon this consideration, chiefly, his philosophical historian, warmed by an enthusiasm of reason, exclaims that Alexander was sent into the world by a particular disposition of Providence, a man singular and matchless, whose enterprises, justifiable in him alone, could not have been reasonably undertaken by any other.[62]

Why entitled to do so.

Without adopting this extraordinary eulogy, we may observe, that no other conqueror was ever entitled to embrace the same lofty views. The great Assyrian monarchy comprehended, as we have seen, only the eastern division of his empire. The Medes and Persians, who succeeded to the Assyrians, were incapacitated from forming any generous plans of public utility, by their ignorance, barbarism, tyranny, and superstitious abhorrence of the sea, and a sea-faring life. The Parthians, their genuine followers, were deformed by maxims not less illiberal, and by characters still more ferocious: and the Romans, who fought three centuries with the Parthians, without gaining from them the frontier province of Mesopotamia[63], would have been prevented by the interposition of these warlike barbarians, (even had their own maxims

[62] Arrian, l. vii. sub fin.

[63] Juliani Cæsares, p. 324. Conf. Lucan, x. 52.

Non felix Parthia Crassis
Exiguæ secura fuit provincia Pellæ.

And a few lines above—

Eoi propius timuere sarissas,
Quam nunc pila timent populi.

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been less unfavourable to commerce,) from reviving the useful links of communication, which Alexander had established between the countries of the East and West. Besides this, the Romans, as we shall see, disguised, without relinquishing[64], the odious tyranny of nations over nations; a tyranny which had been asserted by all Asiatic conquerors before Alexander; and which has been exercised with tremendous despotism, by all the successive dynasties of Scythian, or Arabian, extraction that, since the downfall of the Macedonian power, have barbarised the finest countries of the earth; countries whose early prosperity remounted beyond the far-famed triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis, and flourished in its utmost vigour before surrounding nations beheld the gorgeous walls of Nineveh and Babylon, or crouched to those proud capitals, the blood-thirsty tyrants of prostrate provinces. Alexander could distinguish between the seeming strength and real weakness of despotism, and had enough of solid greatness to disdain all empty shadows of it. When the architect Stasicrates proposed to fashion mount Athos into his statue[65], he observed coldly: "we will leave Athos unmolested; it is already the monument of royal folly."[66]

[64] Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.

[65] Plutarch in Alexand.

[66] The allusion is to Xerxes' idle vanity in separating the promontory of Athos from the continent, and sailing between them. Herodot. l. vii. c. 21. Lysias in Orat. Funeb. and Isocrat. in Panegyr. Juvenal, out of hatred to the Greeks, says maliciously, if not ignorantly,

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His death.

Yet the man who in other matters respected the "golden mean" was careless of this most important of all maxims in regard to his own person. The time and manner of his death illustrates, indeed, the vanity of human affairs, but exemplifies also a practically more important lesson, perpetually inculcated by his preceptor[67]: namely, the inevitable ruin of the greatest designs and of the brightest characters through signal deficiency in point of any one moral virtue. In the cabinet and the field, Alexander's indefatigable body had kept pace with the activity of his mind; but, in the carousals which preceded or followed great enterprises, he sometimes was betrayed by the social warmth of his disposition, (for in the use of wine he was habitually sparing[68],) into unhappy conflicts of intemperance, in which honesty and open frankness are always the soonest worsted. Upon an occasion of this kind, the projected circumnavigation of Arabia, after he had entertained Nearchus and his officers, he was passing from the banqueting-room to the bath to prepare himself for rest, when his progress was interrupted by Medius, one of those persons called the king's friends, though many of them deserved a quite contrary appellation. They consisted of men

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Creditur olim,
Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Græcia mendax
Audet in Historia, &c. Satyr. x. v. 174.

[67] See Aristotle's Ethics, throughout.

[68] Arrian, l. vii. sub fin.

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of learning or information; poets, artists, philosophers, not excluding the mere votaries of convivial merriment, who, without any employment in the state or army, were admitted to the king's table and conversation, to vary the dull monotony of military life. Medius stopped Alexander to request his presence at a banquet, that was celebrating in another part of the palace, "because the company could not fail to please him."[69] The king too indulgently complied, since, from this second drinking bout, which was prolonged twenty-four hours, he retired in a fever, of which he died eleven days afterwards. On the third[70] day of his malady, he was able to hear from Nearchus a relation of some memorable occurrences in the Indian seas. He was repeatedly conveyed to a cool garden, on the lofty bank of the Euphrates, opposite to the royal palace, but without finding any relief to his burning heat. On the 4th and 5th days, he transacted public business, and gave some new directions concerning the purposed expedition to Arabia. Next morning, he attended the sacrifices with difficulty, and filled up some vacancies in the army. On the 8th day he was conveyed, for the last time, across the Euphrates, and again back to the palace. On the 10th, the soldiers, in anxious agony for his safety, demanded to see their beloved general. They were allowed to pass through his apartment in single

[69] Γενεσθαι γαρ αν ἡδιων τον κωμον. Arrian, l. vii. c. 24.

[70] See an extract from the Royal Diary, apud Plutarch in Alexand. & Arrian, l. vii. c. 26.

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file: the king was speechless, but affectionately stretched forth to them his hand. In the night following, Seleucus and Python, two of the youngest *royal companions*, visited the temple of Serapis to consult that protecting divinity of commerce, whether Alexander should be carried to his shrine and immediate presence, that the malady which afflicted him; might be healed by divine aid. They received for answer that the king had best remain in his present situation; and, as his death immediately followed this oracular response, it was, therefore, piously construed into the best thing that could befall him.[71]

And testament.

To these particulars recorded in the Royal Diary, it is added by Aristobulus[72], a contemporary biographer, that Alexander being asked immediately before his dissolution, to whom he bequeathed the empire, replied, "to the strongest, for my obsequies, I know, will be celebrated by strenuous funeral games among my generals." This report, though invalidated by the silence of the Royal Diary, was greedily embraced by the Greeks, whom Homer had taught to believe that the soul, at taking its flight from the body, often clearly predicted the secrets of futurity[73]: and all acknowledged the characteristic fitness of an answer, which veiled the king's melancholy presages under his habitual magnanimity. Yet Alexander had not been guilty of the omission, to which able and

[71] Plutarch ubi supra, & Arrian, l. vii. c. 25.

[72] Apud Arrian, c. 26.

[73] Iliad, l. xvi. v. 850. Conf. Diodorus Siculus, l. xviii. c. 1.

busy men are peculiarly liable. Sleep and love, he used to say, kept him in mind of his mortality[74]; impressed with which reflection, he had made a full and clear testamentary disposition with regard to his whole dominions.[75] In him, indeed, this precaution was the more natural and necessary, because the patrimony of his crown bore so small a proportion to the personal acquisitions of the king, that all notions of hereditary monarchy were lost in extent of conquest. The place chosen as the depository of this important instrument, was the city of Rhodes, capital of the island of that name, which on various accounts Alexander regarded with much fond partiality.[76] The Rhodians had early acknowledged his just ascendency, and admitted a Macedonian garrison; a cordial correspondence subsisted between them and their protector; and the enterprising islanders, amidst the decline of greater commonwealths, had begun to assume their high pre-eminence as bold and liberal traders, the redoubted foes to piracy, the ingenious cultivators of arts, and the authors of those salutary marine laws destined to perpetuate their renown to the latest posterity. But in the matter of Alexander's testament, the Rhodians acted not consistently with their own character, or the favourable opinion which

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[74] Plutarch in Alexand.

[75] Διαθηκην ὑπερ ὁλης της βασιλειας. Diodorus, l. xx. s. 81.

[76] He had married Barcina, widow of Memnon the Rhodian; and a magnificent belt, the gift of the Rhodians, constantly adorned his person. Plutarch in Alexand. p. 684.

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that prince had conceived of them. Their descendants always boasted[77] with preposterous vanity, that Rhodes had once been in possession of a document so important to the world; but the deed itself, which many powerful persons had the strongest interest to cancel, never made its appearance; and Alexander's succession, except that for a reason to be explained presently, he had committed his ring or signet to Perdiccas, was left to be decided by the ambiguous laws of his country, and the discordant pretensions of his generals.

[77] Diodorus, l. xx. s. 81.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS,

FROM THE DOMINION OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

CHAP. I.

Heirs in the Family of Alexander.—Their respective Incompetencies.—Pretensions of his Generals.—Their Proceedings conformable to their several Ranks and Situations.—Arrhidæus chosen King by the Phalanx.—Perdiccas's Character and Views.—Those of Nearchus and Ptolemy.—Bold Stratagem of Perdiccas, which terminates the Sedition.—Division of the Provinces.—Lamentations of Alexander's Asiatic Subjects.—His late Funeral.

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Heirs in the family of Alexander,

ALEXANDER is said to have died childless[1], an expression indicating that the Greeks did not regard as legitimate his offspring by Asian women, though this opinion was never declared,

[1] Αλεξανδρῳ τετελευτηκοτος απαιδος. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 2.

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Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

nor perhaps entertained by himself. The year before his return to Babylon, he had married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian; and a twelvemonth after celebrating these nuptials, had espoused still more publicly Statira, eldest daughter to Darius.[2] But as early as the second year of his expedition, and nearly nine years before his death, there had been found, in the surrender of Damascus, Barcina, widow of Memnon the Rhodian, and daughter to Artabazes, a Persian of distinction, by a princess of the royal blood. The beauty of Barcina, and still more her amiable character and Grecian education[3], recommended the Syrian captive to Alexander's bed. She bore to him a son, named Hercules, now in his fifth year.[4] Roxana was six months pregnant, and shortly after the king's death brought forth a son, called Alexander from his father. Statira, the daughter of Darius, who had been wedded with so much solemnity at Suza, was not a mother. The deficiency, in point of descendants, was not supplied by collaterals deemed worthy of the throne. Alexander's half-brother Philip Arrhidæus, nearly of the same age with himself, had indeed been acknowledged, and royally educated by king Philip, though the son of a Thessalian dancing woman.[5] But Arrhidæus was a prince of a weak under-

Philip Arrhidæus.

[2] Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 107. Arrian, l. vii. c. 4. Plutarch in Alexand.

[3] Plutarch in Alexand. p. 676.

[4] Plutarch in Eumen.

[5] Pausan. Arcad. c. vii. & Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 578.

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standing, and an unambitious temper, who had followed the Macedonian camp, without bearing any command, or ever taking part in any important transaction.[6] Alexander's full sister, Cleopatra, after the death of her husband the dependent king of Epirus, had passed into Asia, less solicitous about finding there a new marriage suitable to her rank, than eager to indulge in the midst of a great army her unbounded gallantries. The incorrigible looseness of her behaviour was universally stigmatised even in that licentious age, and the object of contemptuous derision to Alexander himself.[7] Another sister called Cynna formed a contrast to Cleopatra. Cynna[8] was the daughter of an Illyrian named Euridicé[9], but far more resembled her warlike brother than did Cleopatra, who shared his blood by both parents. Her husband Amyntas having aspired to reign on the death of his uncle Philip, had by the sentence of his country been consigned to the punishment of unsuccessful rebellion. Cynna followed Alexander into Asia, assumed the lance and helmet, and gloried to fight in the first ranks.[10] To the same martial accom-

Cleopatra, Cynna, and Euridicé.

[6] Plutarch in Alexand.

[7] When informed of her disorders, "leave her to enjoy," he said, "what she considers as *her* share in the empire." Plut. ibid. p. 818.

[8] Called Cynnana by Arrian apud Photium, p. 219.

[9] Her original name, Audalas, had been changed into Euridicé. Conf. Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 60. & Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. 36.

[10] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 52. & Athenæus, l. iv. p. 155. She *is* said by Polyænus, l. viii. c. 6. to have slain with her own hand

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plishments, which were her own delight, she devoted and trained her daughter, by the unfortunate Amyntas, who bore the family name of Euridicé; and whose character, as we shall see hereafter, well corresponded with her education. Yet neither Cynna nor Euridicé, any more than the voluptuous profligacy of Cleopatra, were ever mentioned in the great question of succession to the empire; custom without any express declaration having established a sort of Salic law forbidding the government of women over freemen and soldiers.

Generals of the blood royal.

Besides the posterity of Alexander and his father Philip, three generals of great renown descended, more remotely, from the royal blood. These were Leonnatus and Perdiccas, both present in Babylon, and Antigonus then residing[11] as governor of Phrygia in the centre of the Asiatic peninsula. These ambitious men were likely to urge with keenness their double pretensions of birth and merit; whereas Ptolemy, though in both respects above them, was contented to be thought the son of Lagus, and had been treated by Alexander with more fraternal regard because he had never boasted the name of brother.[12] In addition to these four, there were ten other generals who,

Ten other generals of high pretensions.

Cæria, a rival heroine, queen of the *Phrygians*, (read) *Illyrians*. She must have accompanied either Philip or Alexander in their Illyrian warfare.

[11] Dexippus apud Photium, p. 220. Conf. Arrian, l. i. c. 30.

[12] Curtius, l. ix. c. 8.

from the glory of their exploits, and the high rank which they held in Alexander's service, could not be expected easily to acknowledge a superior. Of these, seven were then present in Babylon; Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, Eumenes, Meleager, Nearchus[13]; of the three remaining, Peucestes, whose heroism had saved the life of his master in the assault of the Mallian fortress, resided[14] in his government of Persis, the proper Persia; Antipater continued at the head of affairs in Greece and Macedon; and Craterus, an old general wedded to the customs of his country, and of great popularity in the army, was marching with ten thousand veterans through Cilicia[15], that they might be exchanged for a greater number of new recruits from Europe. This long list of generals, most of them men of haughty spirit and unprincipled ambition, the magnanimity of Alexander had overawed. In each province, he had separated the departments of the purse and of the sword; and for the protection of his subjects at large, had established firm barriers of justice guarded with unceasing vigilance. But to uphold such a fabric required the abilities of him who had erected it; and no two things could be more widely at variance than the exigencies of the empire and the helpless condition of the royal line; the weakness of Arrhidæus, the nonage of Hercules, the pre-

[13] Dexippus et Arrian apud Phot. & Curtius, l. x. c. 6.
[14] Arrian, l. vi. c. 30.
[15] Phot. Eclog. p. 201. & p. 215. & Arrian, l. vii. c. 12.

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carious expectance of Roxana's pregnancy. Yet both Greeks and Barbarians looked for a lawful sovereign in the family of their late king: and the merits of his lieutenants were so equally balanced, that it would not be easy to decide which of them should hold the regency.

Deliberation concerning the regency and succession.

To fix at once the succession and administration, the principal officers assembled in the palace the day after Alexander's death. The deliberation itself, as well as the transactions immediately following it, have hitherto been represented as a blind scramble for power among profligate and daring usurpers. Their proceedings, indeed, are transmitted to us from antiquity, through the medium of obscure fragments [16], or flowery declamation. [17] But a careful study of this illustrious reign, and of the Macedonian institutions, will shew that in the whole business, there was much regularity, and particularly that affairs still followed the impulse which Alexander had given to them, the parts acted by his generals exactly corresponding to their respective situations in his army. The composition of this army will therefore first require our attention.

The parts acted by Alexander's generals corresponded with their respective stations.

The Phalanx with its essential auxiliaries.

The Macedonian phalanx consisted at first of six, and afterwards of sixteen thousand spearmen, arranged sixteen in depth. [18] In its

[16] The excerpts from Dexippus and Arrian in Photius, p. 200—215.

[17] Curtius, l. x. c. 5. et seq.

[18] The first and last ranks were composed of the best soldiers; and when Persians and other Barbarians were taken into the service, they commonly occupied the middle place.

usual order the phalanx occupied a line of three thousand feet, but could contract itself in a charge to one half of that length.[19] By its depth, compactness, and the nature of its weapons, this body of infantry long surmounted every enemy: but in the wars between the remote followers of Alexander and the Romans, the phalanx was shewn to be in itself a very incomplete[20] instrument of victory; it depended on the co-operation of lighter troops, for removing obstacles, for covering its flank, and for giving it a fair opportunity to exercise in front its matchless might. In the reign of Alexander, these essential auxiliaries to the phalanx consisted of the *hypaspists*, a body of three thousand light infantry[21]; and of the *equestrian companions*, a regiment of two thousand and forty-eight horse: and when the phalanx was doubled from sixteen to thirty-two thousand spearmen, these lighter troops might in the same proportion be augmented. In the formation and employment of his *hypaspists* and *companions*, Alexander evinced his martial pre-eminence. He always charged in person with the first division of the companions, there-

[19] Ὁ πεπυκνωμενος ανηρ κατεχει πηχεις, B. Cardinal Bessarion's Grammar from an ancient treatise on the Phalanx.

[20] The defeats of the later Macedonian kings arose from their considering the phalanx as ανταρκης, all-sufficient in itself. Polybius, l. xviii. c. 12—15.

[21] Πελταιροι θαυμασοι και συνκεκραταμενοι, that admirable and indefatigable light infantry. Demost. Olynth. c. vi. The Romans called the hypaspists cetrati. T. Liv. l. xliv. c. 41. et passim.

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fore called the royal squadron[22]: and to the ability with which he performed this service, and was seconded in it by those accompanying him, every one of his great victories is principally to be ascribed.

The *companions* and their leaders.

The *companions* were divided into eight squadrons, respectively commanded by persons the highest in public esteem, and whose military rank commonly opened their way to the first dignity in the empire. At the time of their master's death, these eight commanders are enumerated in the following order; Perdiccas, Leonnatus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, and Eumenes[23]; names hitherto repressed by Alexander's renown, but now to burst forth, and long to resound through nations. In this body of indefatigable cavalry, employed in perpetual warfare, the vacancies were supplied with emulation from the best troops in the service; and every one of its leaders, except Perdiccas, now the first in rank, and successor to the unhappy Clitus, had been substituted in the stead of others who had gloriously fallen in the arms of victory.

The king's lieutenants called body-guards.

The command of the companions naturally led to the highest honour in the state, expressed by a word which literally denotes nothing more than *body-guard*. The body-guards were seven

[22] Ιλη βασιλικη. Arrian, l. vi. c. 9. and also, το αγημα, "the admirable band," for αγημα δια το αγητον, ὁ εστι θαυμαστον. Eustath. in Odyss. p. 1399.

[23] Arrian de Rebus post Alexandrum in Phot. p. 215.

in number at the time of Alexander's decease, ranking in the following order; Leonnatus, Perdiccas, Aristonous, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Python, Peucestes.[24] The appellation of *body-guard* had little connection with the real nature of their office; for the proper guards of the king were the first company of hypaspists, and the first squadron of companions. In his exercises and amusements, and the daily rites of religious worship, he was attended by the royal pages, youths of noble descent, who ministered at his table, and nightly slept before his chamber in the palace, and his tent in the field.[25] But several of those called the *body-guards* were commonly near to the person of their master: they formed collectively his council both civil and military; they were a sort of lieutenants or deputies always ready to aid him in important functions, to divide with him the duties of administration, and occasionally to supply his place.[26] They consisted, as will appear on comparison, of nearly the same persons with the leaders of the *equestrian companions.* The first six names occur in the lists of both: Peucestes only, the seventh *body-guard,* had not any command in the *royal horse;* and neither Eumenes nor Seleucus, though commanding their respective troops of horse, and though the former was confidential secretary to the king, had yet attained the rank of *body-*

[24] Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vi. c. 28. & Arrian et Dexippus apud Photium, ubi supra.

[25] Curtius, l. v. c. 1.

[26] Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch.

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The affairs of the empire turned on those 14 persons.

guard or lieutenant. To the six names common to both lists, we must therefore add those of Eumenes, Seleucus, and Peucestes; which generals, together with the viceroys Antipater and Antigonus, with Meleager and Craterus, favourite leaders of the phalanx, and with Nearchus, commander of the fleet, were entitled to act the principal part in the disposal of their master's empire, and the bloody drama which accompanied it. Of these fourteen persons on whom the revolutions of that part of the world which falls within the sphere of ancient history long continued to turn, ten were present in Babylon; four were employed in important concerns at a distance.

The phalanx declares Arrhidæus king.

The ten present, and particularly Perdiccas, to whom, as standing at their head[27], Alexander had committed the ring or signet by which he confirmed acts of royal authority, summoned to the palace their friends and adherents, consisting of most of the officers commanding inferior divisions of the army. But while this council of chiefs was still employed in deliberation, the phalanx had already resolved. The opinions of the chiefs varied with their interests, but the multitude were prepared to follow, all of them, the same impulse; since they only desired a king of the royal house who might conduct them safely home, to enjoy their wealth and fame with their friends and families. Without

[27] The reason will appear clearly hereafter, why Perdiccas, who was at the head of the *companions*, was preferred to Leonnatus, although the latter stood immediately before him in the *body-guards*.

waiting for the decision of their superiors, the troops of the line, being left by the absence of most of their officers to the capricious instigation of the busiest and boldest in their own number, proclaimed as king Philip Arrhidæus, who, had he been Alexander's full brother on the mother's side, instead of deriving his ignoble descent from a Thessalian courtezan[28], would have forfeited all pretensions to the throne, by the incurable weakness of his understanding.[29] The news of this transaction, which were immediately brought to the council, needed not, in as far as Arrhidæus was concerned, greatly to have alarmed the generals; since, under the name of this pageant, one of themselves must necessarily be called to govern. But the man, pointed out by Alexander for the delegated power of regent, aspired to the sovereignty in his own person, in case Roxana should not bring forth a son; others, hoped, conformably to the Macedonian usage, to be named protectors of the kingdom during the minority of Hercules the son of Barcina; and a third party, more discerning than either, deemed Alexander's dominions too vast for consolidation, and were anxious chiefly to carve out for themselves valuable and independent establishments. Amidst this discordancy of personal views, the generals of the guards and cavalry, as well as the privileged bodies of

Views of the different generals.

[28] Γυναικος κοινης, Plutarch, Parallel. p. 707. The meaning of the epithet is decided by Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 578, who calls her ορχηστρις, a public dancing girl.

[29] Ψυχικοις παθεσι ανιατοις. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 2. Conf. Plutarch, Vit. Parallel. Alexand. et Cæsar, vers. fin.

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men whom they commanded, were all alike indignant that the phalanx, or troops of the line, should usurp the sole power of appointing a successor to the empire.

Meleager foments the sedition of the phalanx.

Meleager, a member of the council, was immediately sent to remonstrate with, and controul, the licentious soldiery.[30] But this weighty business was unfortunately committed to a man the worst calculated of any for executing it honestly. The envy natural to his character had been stigmatised by his late master.[31] Without hopes of obtaining for himself the first rank, he was willing to throw all into confusion rather than behold a superior. His popularity with the troops of the line was employed only as an instrument of sedition. Instead of condemning their unwarrantable pretensions, he encouraged them to persevere "in maintaining their just rights." If force became necessary "his abilities had been often tried as their leader." Through the unprincipled audacity of Meleager, the breach between the two divisions of the army might have been rendered incurable, had not Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Eumenes[32], presuming on the affection of the soldiers, interposed their seasonable mediation, and procured, with the consent of all parties, a new and more legitimate

[30] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 2. & Arrian apud Phot. ubi supra.

[31] When Meleager invidiously blamed Alexander's generosity to the Indian prince Taxiles, Curtius says, "Rex iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit, invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta." l. viii. c. 12.

[32] Οι χαριεστατοι των ανδρων. Diodorus ubi supra.

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assembly for deciding the greatest prize to which human ambition ever ventured to aspire.

A new assembly, in which Perdiccas acts the chief part.

The chiefs convened in the great hall of the palace, which was on all sides thrown open, displaying in its centre to the surrounding multitude, the throne, the diadem, and the arms of their bewailed sovereign. Perdiccas' character, still more than his rank, entitled him to act the chief part on this solemn occasion. He was a man, who, to the accomplishments of a polished age, added the ferocious loftiness of ancient heroes; and whose inward qualities were faithfully pourtrayed in his person and aspect. In the mere wantonness of valour he could assail the den of a lioness, and make prize of her young.[33] Of herculean strength, his swelling courage seemed still to require a more gigantic frame; his ambition was beyond measure aspiring, and his confidence in his good fortune equally unbounded. At first leaving Macedon, when Alexander divided his whole property among his friends, saying that he retained only hope for himself, Perdiccas alone rejected the proffered bounty of the king, maintaining that being zealous to share his dangers, he was entitled also to participate in his hopes.[34] The dignity of this sentiment was justified in the most striking scenes of an unexampled warfare, through which Perdiccas had risen to fair pre-eminence; and, as the first in his master's council, had been chosen for the custody of the royal signet, when the

[33] Ælian, Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 39.

[34] Plutarch, Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

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king's sinking eyes surveyed the sad countenances of his friends who stood silent around him.[35]

His proposal.

Yet Perdiccas, bold as he was, trembled at the giddy height to which fortune seemed ready to exalt him. With melancholy slowness he advanced into the middle of the assembly, and deposited on the chair of state the signet with which he had been honoured, thereby divesting himself of the authority which that symbol was supposed by his partizans to convey. Then raising his mournful eyes, "Never," he said, "my fellow-soldiers, did any misfortune surpass that by which we are afflicted. But, from the extraordinary merits of him whom we lament, there was reason to think that the gods would only lend him to the world, and speedily recall him to the celestial mansions. The mind of Alexander for ever lives; let due honours be now paid to his mortal body, mindful where, and among whom, his high destinies have placed us. The empire requires a head; whether one or many, you must decide. Roxana is now six months pregnant. Would to heaven that she produce a son to inherit his father's kingdom! meanwhile do you determine who shall provisionally exercise the government."[36]

Speech of Nearchus.

The short silence which followed was interrupted by Nearchus, recently ennobled by his naval exploits, and the king's distinguished favour. He maintained with Perdiccas that a

[35] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 2.

[36] Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

successor to the throne was to be sought, only in the family of Alexander, "but wherefore should the doubtful expectance of Roxana's pregnancy be preferred to a prince in existence. Hercules the son of Barcina is sprung from our revered sovereign, and to him his father's sceptre ought in justice to devolve." The phalanx marked disapprobation by angrily clashing their armour.[37] Of this displeasure, Ptolemy failed not to avail himself for promoting his favourite views. Ptolemy, as the son of Philip, highly honoured by Alexander, and singularly beloved by the troops, might have aspired with no mean prospect of success to fill the vacant throne. But of this prudent and lettered prince, the abilities, which rendered him the worthiest of that honour, also enabled him to calculate its uneasiness and its danger. His sagacity was too discerning to allow him for a moment to provoke a comparison with his deceased brother. He wished rather to confirm the opinion that the sceptre of that extraordinary man was too heavy for any one individual to wield; for, should the empire be divided, he trusted to obtain the fond object of his vows, in the wealthy and secure kingdom of Egypt.[38]

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Views of Ptolemy.

To promote this moderate and solid plan of ambition, Ptolemy rose in the assembly with a look of angry disdain, the more impressive from his habitual mildness. "The sons of Roxana

His speech.

[37] Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

[38] Αυτος (Ptolemy) μαλιστα εγενετο εις τας βασιλειας αιτιος τα εθνη νεμηθηναι. Pausanias, Attic. p. 3.

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and Barcina! to what purpose have we conquered the Barbarians, if we are determined to serve their posterity? My advice is far different. Let the throne of Alexander remain immoveable in his palace. Around this, let his friends assemble, those friends whom he summoned to his council. We shall deliberate boldly, yet wisely, under the influence of our godlike sovereign; and with the result of such deliberations, the governors of distant provinces will be bound strictly to comply." [39] Strange as this proposal may appear, we shall see it realized three years afterwards by Eumenes. The throne of Alexander was actually invested, and, as it were, animated with a revered sovereignty: so wonderful was the ascendency which that conqueror had acquired over the minds of his followers! But on the present occasion, the phalanx joined with the cavalry in testifying loud disapprobation.

Proposal of Aristonous in favour of Perdiccas.

Emboldened by this circumstance, Aristonous of Pella, a *companion* and *life-guard*, zealous in the cause of Perdiccas and the indivisibility of the empire, ventured to assert openly and warmly the exclusive title of his friend to the supreme administration. "Wherefore, Macedonians! should we still agitate a question which Alexander himself has decided? By giving his signet to Perdiccas, he clearly assigned to him the regency." A shout of applause followed, which drowned the opposing murmurs; many exhorting Perdiccas to mount

[39] Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

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the vacant throne. But that general, with an apparent cowardice in the council of which he had never shewn any signs in the field, delayed in seeming hesitation, thinking that the less eagerly he seized the prize, the more earnestly it would be pressed on him: and when disappointed in this expectation, his presence of mind totally forsook him: he staggered on the precipice to which he had already climbed, and fell headlong down, when the summit was within his grasp. Instead of advancing to the chair of state, he retired behind the military circle, by which it was surrounded. His confusion attesting, as it seemed, his unworthiness, dismayed his partisans, and encouraged his adversary Meleager, who had already sounded the trumpet of sedition, to revive and urge the strong domestic claims of Philip Arrhidæus.

Irresolution of the latter.

Meleager was answered by Python the son of Crateas, a native of Ithaca.[40] Python, though a stranger, had been raised through merit to the rank of *companion* and *life-guard*. To such a man, abilities alone appeared the legitimate source of public honour. Forgetting that the gentle and generous nature of Arrhidæus had endeared him to his Macedonian countrymen, he spoke in such contemptuous terms of the unworthy brother of Alexander, as excited indignation against himself, and lively compassion for the object of his ill-advised insult. The re-

Python's insult to Arrhidæus drives Meleager and his adherents from the council.

[40] Arrian, Hist. Indic. Yet in Exped. Alexand. l. vi. c. 18. he calls Python a native of Eordia. His father, an Ithacan, had settled in that district of Macedon.

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sentment of the phalanx was warmly adopted, and distinctly expressed, by Meleager; who concluded a furious harangue by maintaining that "whoever might be declared heir to the throne, the soldiers themselves were joint-heirs to the treasure." The assembly was thrown into disorder by his violence. The chiefs and better sort reproached his proceedings as equally insolent and outrageous. He was compelled to retire with his adherents in the infantry, but returned repeatedly to the palace with the greedy multitude, carrying with them the unfortunate Arrhidæus, at once their king and their prisoner. [41]

The chiefs settle the regency, and then remove from Babylon.

To defeat the seditious purposes of Meleager, Ptolemy joined the party of Perdiccas; the whole of the cavalry supported the same cause. It was determined therefore by the assembly, that Perdiccas and Leonnatus, the former of whom had been placed by Alexander at the head of the *companions*, and the latter at that of the *life-guards*, should be appointed joint regents of the kingdom; and, that in all things the intention of their late monarch might be complied with, Perdiccas, as entrusted with his signet, was named first in the commission. Having made this hasty settlement of the empire, they were exhorted by Ptolemy to leave the city, lest they should be attacked at disadvantage, and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the infantry. Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, with the three

[41] Diodorus, Curtius, and Arrian, ubi supra.

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other commanders of the *companions*, immediately followed Ptolemy without the walls of Babylon, and encamped in the plain of the Euphrates, directly opposite to the royal palace.

Perdiccas alone scorned this resolution. With the division of horsemen whom he commanded, he remained in the midst of his enemies, bent on washing out, by some deed of renown, the disgrace which he had recently incurred in the assembly. When informed of this audacity, Meleager failed not to exhort Arrhidæus to remove his principal adversary, who had madly put himself in his hands. The silence of the new king, who feared his professed subjects not less than his declared enemies, was construed into consent; and a powerful detachment was sent to bring Perdiccas to the royal presence, with orders, in case of his refusal, to shew him no mercy. That general, who had many partisans among the infantry, was seasonably apprised of the blow ready to fall on him. His conduct had been rash in the extreme: but he had learned from Alexander, that dangers incurred by boldness may, by more incredible boldness, be surmounted. With the noble youths unalterably attached to his fortune, he took post near the threshold of his door; and, when Meleager's soldiers approached to seize him, shewed such confidence of mien to those assailants, upbraiding them as mean slaves to a contemptible master, that instead of executing their commission, they returned in dismay to their employer. Having thus braved his enemies, he

Perdiccas alone remains in contempt of the infantry.

His heroism.

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rode unmolested with his friends through the streets of Babylon, and joined the rest of the cavalry encamped without the city, on the contiguous plain.

Sudden changes in the minds of the infantry.

In the short-lived exercise of usurped power, the multitude have always been found as variable as the seas; but, like the waves too of that passive element, they all uniformly follow, for the moment, the same directing influence. Perdiccas's magnanimity not only increased his partisans among the infantry; it alienated the whole phalanx from Arrhidæus, and highly incensed them against Meleager. Their ungoverned anger was ready to hurry them to the wildest vengeance, when an unforeseen cause of alarm changed the tempestuous current of their passions. Detachments of horse being employed to scour the country round Babylon, interrupted all supplies to that still populous city, which, through the jealousy of the Persians, had long ago been deprived of its ample magazines. In the course of three days, the inconvenience of scarcity was succeeded by the pressure of want. The citizens complained; the soldiers threatened; and all urged an immediate accommodation with enemies, by whom they were in danger of being famished.

Asrhidæus shews unusual spirit.

An embassy was sent for this purpose to Perdiccas, who having now resumed his post as head of the *companions*, declared that no terms of reconciliation could be adjusted, until the authors of the sedition were surrendered to punishment. Those conscious of guilt were alarmed, and all

were enraged at this unexpected sternness. The most audacious exhorted their fellow-soldiers to sally from the gates, and join battle with the cavalry. They were likely to prevail, when Arrhidæus displayed a degree of humanity ennobled by spirit, which does not appear in any other passage of his life. Exposing his person fearlessly to the angry multitude, he conjured them to relinquish their sanguinary purpose: "If this diadem can be retained only by the wounds and death of Macedonians, I will divest myself of the odious ornament." So saying, he tore the badge of royalty from his head, and holding it in his outstretched hand, "Resume," he continued, "the fatal present, give it to some one worthier than me, if he can preserve the splendid possession unstained by civil blood."

New settlement of the regency.

This seasonable interposition produced, instead of a battle, a new embassy. Both divisions of the army were agreeably surprised at the generous boldness of Arrhidæus; and instead of insisting on the condition before required, Perdiccas was under the necessity of admitting the pretensions of this prince to the royal name and dignity, and of consenting to a new commission of regency, by which Meleager was joined in the supreme administration with himself and Leonnatus.

Bold and bloody stratagem of Perdiccas, which terminates the sedition.

But with this unpromising form of divided sovereignty, Perdiccas had connected a daring scheme for the destruction of his enemies. For clearing away the guilt of past offences, and healing secret dissension, the Macedonians em-

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ployed an ancient and sacred ceremony, resembling the *lustrum* of the Romans, with only one principal difference between them, that the Macedonian lustrum did not return regularly at stated periods. In this solemn and religious review, custom placed the king at the head of the cavalry. In celebrating the lustrum, Arrhidæus would thus be withdrawn from the infantry commanded by Meleager, and placed in the middle of the *equestrian companions*, a change of much importance, since whoever was master of the person of that weak prince would be able for the moment to direct his measures. On the suggestion of Perdiccas, the solemnity of expiation was announced on the great plain adjacent to the city. When the appointed day arrived, the whole of the troops; horse, foot, and elephants, were formed in battle-array, with the king and generals at their respective posts. But before the principal and most whimsical rite was performed, of throwing from both extremities of the line the mangled bowels of a riven dog [42], the king, accompanied by Perdiccas, rode towards the phalanx demanding the first authors of the mutiny. The cavalry was unanimous; the infantry, divided; and the authority of the king, of their own choice, was now turned against the latter. Perdiccas availed himself of their confusion, to draw from the line about three hundred noted incendiaries; and without wait-

[42] Curtius, l. x. c. 9. In the Roman lustrum, the sacrifice consisted of a boar, a ram, and a bull: thence it was called suovetaurilia. Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 44.

ing for the approbation or dissent of Arrhidæus, ordered them to be exposed to the elephants; and in sight of the whole army, trampled under foot by those docile but fierce animals: This horrid spectacle terminated the sedition, for the ordinary rites of atonement for past discord were then performed quietly and in due form. Meleager alone distrusted, on good grounds, the general amnesty. He fled to a neighbouring temple; but even this asylum did not long protect him from the fate justly merited by his profligate ambition.[43] CHAP. I.

New settlement of the succession.

The boldness and rapidity of these proceedings confirmed the authority of Perdiccas. At his command, a new council convened for settling the empire. According to the former arrangement, Leonnatus, as standing at the head of the *life-guards*, had been joined with him in the regency. A prince of the blood of Macedon, and distinguished by the graceful dignity of his presence, Leonnatus had been selected for soothing the captive family of Darius after the defeat of Issus. His hair-breadth escapes in battle, and his ardour in sharing the fatigues and dangers of his admired master, had raised him to that pre-eminence in the service, which naturally pointed him out for a share in the regency. But with many showy qualities, Leonnatus was unequal to the office now assigned him. He was disgraced by levity of character,

[43] Conf. Curtius, l. x. c. 9. & Phot. Cod. xlii. Diodorus errs with regard to Meleager, whom he mentions as governor of Lydia after this period. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3.

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by ostentation, and luxury.[44] His genius shrunk before the energy of Perdiccas; with whom he co-operated submissively during their joint authority, and into whose hands he resigned, in presence of the council, his partnership in supreme power for the government of Hellespontian Phrygia: a situation seemingly unimportant, yet essential in his opinion to the wild projects, by which, as will appear hereafter, his inconstancy was then agitated.[45] In king Arrhidæus, Perdiccas had reason to expect the same nullity of opposition to his will, which he would have experienced as administrator of the kingdom for the expected offspring of Roxana. But according to his first proposal, he persisted in maintaining the rights of that unborn heir to the throne. The council concurred with him in declaring, that if Roxana brought forth a son, he should be associated with Arrhidæus in the nominal sovereignty. The contingency soon after happened, and the posthumous son of Alexander being honoured with his father's name, was treated as co-heir to the empire.[46]

Division of the provinces.

These matters of mere formality being adjusted, Perdiccas proceeded to the more important business of dividing the provinces, and thereby removing, in due time, such rivals in authority with the army, as might have proved very serious obstacles to his views. In this act of partition, the prudence of Ptolemy obtained the rich and well-secured province of Egypt:

[44] Plutarch in Eumen. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ix. c. 5. & Suidas.
[45] Plutarch. [46] Arrian and Curtius, ibid.

Lysimachus, himself of a fierce and stubborn character, was thought a fit governor for the warlike Thracians: Peucestes, another of the *life-guards*, was confirmed in his authority over the imperial district of Persis. The Greater and Lesser Phrygia were respectively intrusted to Antigonus and Leonnatus. Eumenes was named to Cappadocia; and Python[47] to Media. Craterus was joined with Antipater in the administration of Greece and Macedon. Seleucus, the youngest commander over the equestrian companions, was placed as lieutenant to Perdiccas, at the head of that illustrious corps; and Aristonous, unprovided with any separate province, attended the regent as his confidential friend, and ready coadjutor in the government of the empire.[48] According to this arrangement, every one was promoted suitably to the rank which, at the time of Alexander's death, he held in the service. Nearchus the Cretan, alone, seems to have thought himself slighted. His great naval abilities were no longer in request. He repaired, therefore, to his friend Antigonus in the Greater Phrygia; whose fortunes he continued thenceforward to share in life, and with whom he was united in death.[49] The other provinces were provisionally committed to the officers commanding in them.

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This act of partition appeared in a very dif- The views of Perdic-

[47] The name is written Pithon by Diodorus.

[48] Conf. Arrian, & Dexipp. apud Phot. ubi supra. Diodorus, l. xiii. s. 4. Appian, Syriac. and Pausan. Attic. c. 6.

[49] In the battle of Ipsus, of which below.

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cas different from those of the other generals.

ferent light to Perdiccas, and to the other parties concerned in it. When Ptolemy first proposed the division of the empire, he meant that each general should hold the share allotted to him in full sovereignty. His own judicious choice of Egypt, a country defended on three sides by deserts, marshes, and a great river, and whose fourth side along a difficult sea-coast might easily be protected by a watchful fleet, was exactly consonant to his original plan, and entitled him to entertain well-grounded hopes of founding a separate monarchy. The other generals formed similar expectations with various degrees of probability: whereas Perdiccas looked on them all as so many dangerous vassals, whom he might overpower successively by means of his controuling army, and the command which he enjoyed, as regent, over the royal treasuries in different strong-holds of the empire.

Alexander's death peculiarly lamented by his Asiatic subjects.

While the generals of Alexander prepared to benefit by his premature fate, the task of sincerely lamenting it was left to his inferior subjects. The superstition of the Greeks believed that he had mysteriously revealed the evils consequent on his death: but these disasters were foreseen and bewailed even by the promiscuous crowd that filled the streets of Babylon. To the vanquished Asiatics, who had experienced his protection and clemency, and to the victorious Europeans, who had shared his fame and glory, it seemed impossible to supply the place of a common benefactor, who, to his higher merits,

joined those obliging attentions which conciliate public affection, and that habitual alertness of spirit and alacrity of aspect which inspire unbounded confidence. The Macedonians regretted that they, who had so long fought for the glory of their country, must be called to an ignoble contest for the choice of a master. The different nations of Asiatics, who had successively tyrannized over each other, lamented, that instead of an indulgent and equal sovereign, who complied with their hereditary usages, yet softened the hand of despotism, they must lie in future at the mercy of insolent foreigners, many of whom delighted in trampling equally on their persons, and their feelings. Agreeably to their respective customs, both Greeks and Barbarians spontaneously assumed the external emblems[50] of their inward sorrow. The news of Alexander's death proved fatal to Sysigambis, the mother of Darius; and as the intelligence spread from Babylon, the centre, to the extremities of the empire, all descriptions of persons bewailed, with the same breath, the premature fate of their king, torn from them by the envy[51] of the gods; and the forlorn condition of his once happy and admiring subjects.

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Yet neither the regret felt, nor the evils foreseen, had moderated the proceedings of men domineered by ambition, and long enured to

His late funeral.

[50] Πενθιμην εσθητα. Diodorus. Conf. Curtius, l. x. c. 5.

[51] Plato and Aristotle, in various passages of their works, exert themselves to correct the impious absurdities of paganism concerning the envy of the gods.

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arms and blood. With difficulty the public lamentation recalled their attention to their master's remains, which, amidst the vile scrambles of interest, had lain several days neglected in the sultry climate of Babylon.[52] Orders were at length issued by Perdiccas for embalming the body, and for its pompous interment within the precincts of Hammon's temple in Libya. But the obsequies were not celebrated till two years afterwards, when Alexander was buried, not in Hammon's temple, as he was said to have commanded, but by an alteration (accompanied, as we shall see, with important consequences), in the city of Alexandria in Egypt, which he had founded; and not until many of the slain bodies of his friends had been deposited in their tombs. This late honour to his memory could ill reconcile his indignant shade to the dereliction of the vast and beneficial schemes which had long occupied him; the improvements in his fleet and army, his discoveries by sea and land, the productive and commercial industry which he had made to flourish, and that happy intercourse of sentiment and affection in which he had laboured to unite distant and hostile nations. After his controuling mind had withdrawn, the system which he had formed and actuated fell in pieces, and, instead of consentient members, exhibited rather jarring elements. Yet, during the distracted period of twenty-two years, preceding

Transition to the history of his successors.

[52] Plutarch. in Alexand.

the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which finally decided the pretensions of his followers, many great events deserve commemoration, and many splendid characters will attract regard. Their brightness, indeed, was hitherto dimmed by the matchless effulgence of Alexander; and their individual renown is still lessened by their shining together in one constellation. To an hasty and impatient survey, their history presents a wild maze of crimes and calamities; but in a full and connected narrative, their transactions will interest the statesman, the general, above all the philosopher; who knows, that by just delineations of guilt and misery, men are more powerfully restrained within the bounds of duty, than by the most engaging pictures of virtue and of happiness.[53]

[53] Ουτω μοι δοκουμεν και ἡμεις προθυμοτεροι των βελτιονων εσεσθαι και θεαται και μιμητοι βιων, ει μηδε των φαυλων και ψεγομενων ανιστορητως εχοιμεν. Plutarch. in Demet. sub init.

CHAP. II.

Distractions in the outlying Provinces.—Events in Egypt and in Thrace.—Massacre of Greek Mercenaries.—History of the two Cappadocias.—Wild Projects of Leonnatus.—Rebellion of the Pisidians—Perdiccas's lofty Designs.—Confederacy against him.—Victories of Eumenes.—Perdiccas's Expedition against Egypt.—His Murder.

CHAP. II.

Ditractions in the outlying provinces. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

THE convulsions which, upon the death of Alexander, agitated the palace of Babylon, speedily reached both extremities of the empire. The new governors were not established without tumult, in their respective provinces. Amidst the pretensions of Perdiccas, who affected the great king, and the opposition of other generals who disdained to be his satraps, some nations, imperfectly subdued, rejected the Macedonian yoke; others, trusting to local advantages, hoped to shake it from their necks. In the provinces most remote from Babylon and the great controuling army, the spirit of revolt appeared even among those formerly sent thither to restrain it. Many of the Greek mercenaries, who guarded the northern and eastern frontiers, had never relished their establishments in those remote regions; and, longing with increased desire as years rolled on, for the climate and manners of Greece, had scarcely been detained in what

they regarded as a state of melancholy exile, by the authority of a prince who had inspired them with a pride in obedience. On the first intelligence of his death, the inhabitants of distant settlements communicated their views to each other, assembled in different bodies, of which the most considerable amounted to twenty-three thousand[1] men in arms, and under the conduct of Philon, a leader of their own choice, began their toilsome march towards the Grecian sea.

Rebellion of the Rhodians.

About the same time the Rhodians, apprised of the dissensions in Babylon, flew to arms, expelled a Macedonian garrison[2], and resumed an independence, seasonably acquired, manfully maintained, and most honourably as well as usefully employed.

Of the Athenians and Etolians.

The Greeks on the continent availed themselves with equal eagerness, but unequal success, of the expected discord among Alexander's successors. The standard of rebellion was raised by the Athenians, ever hostile to Macedon, and by the intractable and turbulent Etolians, declared enemies to peace either at home or abroad. In other provinces new commotions arose, and new forms of danger appeared, announcing an obstinate and bloody issue. The Thracians, deemed the most warlike of men, until Alexander taught them to tremble[3], prepared to defy Lysimachus, who had

[1] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 7. This was the most considerable body of emigrants, but not the only one. Vid. Pausan. Attic. c. 25.

[2] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 8.

[3] Conf. Herodotus, l. v. c. 3. & Arrian, l. i. c. 3.

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been named to govern them. The Cappadocians, through whose territory the resistless conqueror had pursued his triumphant march[4] in the way to Cilicia, were collecting a great army to oppose Eumenes, appointed, as we have seen, to be their satrap. The Bactrians and Indians fearless of remote danger, the Paphlagonians trusting to their numerous cavalry, the Pisidians confident in the strength of their mountains, all these nations recovered from the panic with which the name of Alexander had filled them, and prepared once more to resume arms and independence.[5]

The central provinces of the empire remained quiet, and why.

Yet, in the midst of this threatening scene, the central provinces of the empire preserved unalterable tranquillity. While, with the exception of the Greeks alone, remote or obscure nations raised the standard of rebellion, the flourishing commercial provinces in the Asiatic peninsula, the fertile valleys of Syria, the rich plains of Babylon, together with the various satrapies from the Tigris to the Indus, patiently endured the yoke, and tamely obeyed every master whom fortune set over them. In some of these countries the will to revolt might be restrained through the experienced lenity of Alexander's administration, and in more of them the power was destroyed through the preceding despotism of the Persians. The blood of their ancient kings had become extinct; many hereditary priesthoods and satrapies had been abo-

[4] Arrian, l. ii. c. 4.

[5] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 8. & s. 16, et seq.

lished; there was scarcely any intermediate rank between the sovereign and the slave; and no individual in those parts who enjoyed, I say, not the means to effect a revolution, but the courage to attempt innovation. In this manner, while the extremities recovered life and action, the great body of the empire remained inert and passive, complying with every movement impressed by the Macedonian captains.

Summary of subsequent revolutions. Olymp. cxiv. 2. cxix. 4: B. C. 323—301.

The exertions of these captains, in maintaining or enlarging their respective provinces at the expence of foreign enemies, were inconsiderable when compared with the obstinate struggle of twenty-two years among themselves. During the first three years of this period, Perdiccas contended for dominion; his opponents fought for equality, at least independence. After the destruction of Perdiccas, Antigonus succeeded to his ambition and danger; and, for the following nineteen years, it was uncertain whether that general would seat himself on his master's throne, or his opponents prevail in their great purpose of dividing the monarchy.

Ptolemy takes possession of Egypt. Olymp. cxiv. 2.

Of the five persons of conspicuous rank to whom the principal provinces had been assigned, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Leonnatus proceeded about the same time to take possession of their governments. The arrival of Ptolemy in Egypt was soon followed by the destruction of Cleomenes, the financial administrator of that country, with whose character my readers are acquainted. Cleomenes might have been suspected of falling a victim to his own vices, if Ptolemy had on

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future occasions kept himself unstained from the guilt of blood. But this popular prince, under the mild semblance of indulgent humanity, concealed unrelenting sternness, and a mind not to be deterred by any conscientious scruples in promoting the views of his ambition. By the same authority which conferred the first place in Egypt on himself, the second had been reserved for Cleomenes. Ptolemy rid himself by murder of a man sufficiently capable of thwarting his projects of independence[6]; seized the treasury in Alexandria, which contained eight thousand talents[7]; augmented the number of his provincial troops; courted the affection of his subjects; and fortified himself so firmly by fleets, armies, and garrisons, that his country alone remained thenceforward exempt from the storms that generally shook the empire.

Murders Cleomenes.

Lysimachus, in accepting for his share the rugged and barbarous kingdom of Thrace, reckoned on the valour of that country for acquiring richer possessions in Asia. But he found it no easy matter to fashion the destined instruments of his future victories. In many laborious campaigns, he exerted himself to extend his dominion to the Danube, the boundary of Alexander's conquests. The great valley of the river Hebrus, and the plain country along the sea-coast of the Euxine, were reduced by his arms; but the mountaineers, under a chieftain of the hereditary name of Seuthes[8], kept possession of the inter-

Circumstances attending the occupation of Thrace by Lysimachus.

[6] Pausanias, Attic. c. vi. Conf. Arrian apud Photium.
[7] Id. ibid.
[8] See Xenophon, Anabas.

mediate ridges of mount Hæmus. By this means they interrupted the communications between the two cultivated regions of Thrace; and by their unexpected inroads and rapid retreats, occasioned so much trouble to Lysimachus, that he was unable for several years to take any part in the general concerns of the empire[9]; though we shall see him finally interfere in them with conspicuous energy and decisive effect.

Why Leonnatus chose Hellespontian Phrygia.

Leonnatus had preferred the little satrapy of Hellespontian Phrygia, to a share with Perdiccas in the regency. In this whimsical choice, he had been guided by motives that could have influenced none but a man of much levity. The intrigues of Olympias the mother of Alexander, whose enmity to his able and faithful servant Antipater could no longer be repressed after the death of her son, had encouraged. Leonnatus with the hope of marrying Cleopatra, Alexander's only sister by both parents, and in virtue of this marriage, joined with the splendour of his own birth and merit, of raising himself to the throne of Macedon.[10] The possession of Hellespontian Phrygia, from which he might rapidly transport an army into Europe, seemed essential to the success of this wild project, of which we shall see in due time the fatal issue.

Python sent to restrain the migration of the Greeks.

Python and Eumenes, who had been respectively named to Media and Cappadocia, were prevented by very memorable occurrences, from taking immediate possession of their provinces.

[9] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 14. & Arrian apud Phot. p. 217.

[10] Plutarch in Eumen.

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Public utility required that a check should be given to the migration of the Greeks from the remote countries in which the policy of Alexander had settled them. For stopping the progress of this evil, Perdiccas draughted by lot from the army three thousand infantry and eight hundred horse. In order to increase their alacrity, and render them more hearty in the expedition, the men destined to this distant warfare were permitted to name their commander. They unanimously chose Python: the nomination was approved by the regent; and Python was entrusted with letters under the royal signet, requiring the neighbouring governors to reinforce his standard with ten thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry. [11]

His perfidious project.

With this well-appointed army he marched eastward, under the pretence of executing his commission, but with the real design, which he was at too little pains to conceal, of converting the Greeks from enemies into friends, and thereby with an army chiefly composed of Europeans, and above forty thousand strong, of rendering himself master not only of Media, but of the contiguous provinces of Upper Asia. Perdiccas, duly apprised of this project, determined to defeat it by sending *public* orders to Python, that the safety of the empire required a great example of discipline enforced, and mutiny condignly punished. For this purpose the rebellious emigrants must suffer death, and their spoils be

Blasted by the atrocious policy of Perdiccas.

[11] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 7.

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divided among the Macedonian soldiers. The latter circumstance ensured success to this atrocious stroke of policy. Python met, and defeated the Greeks, of whom one portion had deserted to him in time of action; and with the remainder of whom he entered into treaty on condition that they returned to their several homes in the districts allotted to them. The agreement was confirmed by oaths on both sides; and Python flattered himself with the complete success of his dexterity, when he beheld the Greeks whom he had conquered, mingled in one camp with the Macedonians whom he commanded. But the latter, regardless of their own oaths, and the authority of their general, and only mindful of the public orders issued by Perdiccas, which tempted them with a rich booty, surrounded the unsuspecting victims of their avarice, attacked them by surprise, and involved the whole of those unfortunate men in one general massacre.[12] History marks not the scene of this detestable transaction. The barbarity of the deed itself, and still more the mortification of defeated dexterity and blasted prospects, sank deep into the mind of Python. According to orders, he returned to the regent; but watched the opportunity of inflicting on him, as we shall see hereafter, a signal vengeance.

Massacre of the Greek emigrants.

In dividing the provinces among them, Alexander's captains anticipated several conquests

Peculiar circumstances of

[12] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 7.

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which their master had begun, and which the terror of his name would easily have completed. This was most remarkably the case with regard to the north-eastern division of the Asiatic peninsula, comprehending Paphlagonia with the two Cappadocias, of which the Lesser was properly distinguished by the name of Pontus. These valuable provinces, inhabited by a mixed race of Thracians and Phrygians, were assigned to Eumenes[13]; but from their actual and ancient condition, not likely to yield him a ready obedience.

the province assigned to Eumenes.

History of the two Cappadocias.

Under the Persian dynasty, the Greater and Lesser Cappadocia had been hereditary satrapies; and the former, to which Paphlagonia was annexed, had been exempted even from tribute, in consequence of the assistance given by its satrap, Anaphas, in destroying the usurpation of the Magi. Darius Hystaspis, who made this arrangement with regard to Cappadocia, committed the hereditary dominion of Pontus, to his son Artabazes by the daughter of Gobrias, at the same time that he devised the empire to Xerxes, his son by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus.[14] Some of the finest districts in both countries were governed immemorially by priests, commanding the labour of many slaves, and enjoying ample revenues: but over the far larger divisions of Cappadocia and Pontus, the lines of Anaphas and Artabazes continued respectively to bear sway. The fate of the house of Anaphas will be

[13] Arrian apud Phot. & Plutarch in Eumen.

[14] Polybius, l. v. c. 43. Conf. Appian, Mithridat. c. 115. & 116.

related in the following pages; and in a subsequent part of this work, we shall see the family of Artabazes, which contrived to hold a subordinate and precarious jurisdiction on the shores of the Euxine, emerge into splendour under Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, whose misfortunes are scarcely less memorable than the glories of Darius his great ancestor.[15] CHAP. II.

Ariarathes, the tenth in descent from Anaphas, governed Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, when Alexander marched without obstruction through the southern parts of his kingdom. Contented with obtaining a free passage for his army, the invader hastened to more important conquests, knowing that when these were effected, the Cappadocian would be inclined to afford him every other proof of submission. But the death of Alexander raised the hopes of Ariarathes, a prince not destitute of resources. Great part of his country, indeed, was stigmatised for the barrenness of its soil, and the stupidity of its natives.[16] But those rude districts contained a stout and stubborn people, long habituated to warfare, and whose capital Mazaca, on the river Melas, resembled rather a camp than a city.[17] Resources of the Greater Cappadocia.

[15] The precious effects and royal ornaments taken from Mithridates by the Romans, partly descended to him from Artabazes, who had received them from his father Darius. Appian, Mithridat. c. 115. That barbarous king, as he is called, really sprung from Achæmenes, the founder of the Persian dynasty; since, from Achæmenes, Darius as well as Cyrus deduced his origin. Conf. Herodot. l. vii. c. 11. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 2. and Appian, Mithridat.

[16] Strabo, l. xii. p. 540.

[17] Id. p. 537. & 539. Conf. l. xiv. p. 663.

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Of the contiguous province of Paphlagonia, the eastern division was mountainous, even to the sea-shore, but the western consisted of extensive meadows [18], scarcely yielding to the Nisæan pastures of Media. The country was famed for its numerous and excellent cavalry [19], whose fierce courage had maintained the Paphlagonians, under the Persian dominion, in the rank of allies rather than subjects. With such recruits in men, and by seasonably employing the money amassed under his ten predecessors, Ariarathes raised a great army, by means of which he hoped to set at defiance any Macedonian captain, who should dare to invade his kingdom. [20]

Antigonus and Leonnatus refuse to assist Eumenes.

Perdiccas was not unacquainted with the boldness of the Cappadocian, or the greatness of his preparations. He therefore ordered Antigonus and Leonnatus, respectively governors of the Greater and Lesser Phrygia, to assist Eumenes in taking possession of his province. But Antigonus, who had been entrusted with Lycia and Pamphylia as well as Phrygia, by Alexander himself, affected to hold these possessions, independently of the will of the Protector. Eumenes, in quality of an upstart stranger, since he was a native of Cardia in the Thracian Chersonnesus, seemed not to be entitled to satrapies, which would have raised him to an equality with the noblest of Alexander's captains; and Antigonus too

Motives of Antigonus.

[18] Xenophon de Exped. Cyri, l. v. p. 358.

[19] Amounting to 120,000, according to Hecatonymus in Xenophon; but clearly an exaggeration. Exped. Cyri, ubi supra.

[20] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 16. & Plut. in Eumen.

well knew his abilities, willingly to receive him for a neighbour. He therefore positively declined compliance with the royal mandate.[21] Eumenes next repaired to Leonnatus, who commanded above twenty thousand men in Hellespontian Phrygia. But it unfortunately happened, that he met there, Hecatæus, the petty prince of Cardia, his inveterate enemy. Their fathers had long disagreed about the government of their native city; and Eumenes had often solicited Alexander to abolish the hereditary power of Hecatæus, and to allow Cardia to be governed on the republican plan, like other Greek cities in its neighbourhood. But the influence of Antipater, who befriended the family of Hecatæus, prevailed; and this *tyrant*, as he is called, of *Cardia*, was then with Leonnatus soliciting succours for Antipater, who had been unfortunate, as will be seen hereafter, in his war with the Greeks, and was actually blocked up by their confederate army in Lamia, a strong city of Thessaly. Leonnatus exhorted Eumenes to accompany him in this expedition, so essential to the safety of the empire. But Eumenes frankly avowed his irreconcileable enmity to Hecatæus, and intimated his strong suspicions, that Antipater might find means to ruin himself, with a view to gratify this unworthy favourite. Such a strong mark of confidence on the part of Eumenes, produced one still stronger on the part of Leonnatus. The interests of Antipater, he said, were merely a pretext. His real object was to

Wild projects of Leonnatus.

[21] Plut. in Eumen.

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seize the Macedonian crown, to which the claims of his birth and rank were strengthened by letters from Cleopatra, Alexander's nearest legitimate relation, offering to marry him at Pella, and with the assistance of the whole party of her mother Olympias, to place him on the throne. The wildness of this project so forcibly struck Eumenes, that he seized the first opportunity of escaping secretly from the satrapy of Leonnatus, and hastened to Perdiccas with his troops and treasures; five hundred men, and five thousand talents.[22]

Conquest of Cappadocia by Perdiccas and Eumenes.

Perdiccas, while he vowed vengeance against Antigonus, and left Leonnatus to reap the bitter fruits of his own folly, moved with the royal army towards Cappadocia, to establish Eumenes in his satrapy. Ariarathes was said to have collected thirty thousand infantry, and above fifteen thousand horse. But this army, had it been far more numerous, would have proved altogether unable to contend with the veteran troops of Macedon, headed by Perdiccas and Eumenes, two of their best generals. A single battle terminated the war. Four thousand Cappadocians were slain, and five thousand made prisoners.

Cruel treatment of its hereditary satrap and his family.

According to the barbarous customs of that age, from which the maxims and the example of Alexander had been unable to wean his followers, Ariarathes, and his captive kindred, suffered, for defending their country, the death usually inflicted on the worst malefactors. One youth only, named also Ariarathes,

[22] Plutarch, ubi supra.

escaped crucifixion[23]; and availed himself of the civil wars of the empire, to regain his hereditary throne, after a long interval of obscurity.[24]

Rebellion of the Pisidians.

Not less ambitious of power than his late master, Perdiccas employed the most opposite means to acquire it. The master awed the world by magnanimity; the degenerate lieutenant was solicitous only to inspire terror. From the banks of the Halys, and the plains of Cappadocia, he marched in a south-western direction to the mountains of Pisidia, two districts of which were in arms. Pisidia, which may be considered as the inland and rougher division of Pamphylia, was inhabited by hardy mountaineers, affectionate to their friends, and fiercely implacable to their enemies.[25] Provoked by some act of oppression, they had slain their satrap Balacrus. Antigonus, to whom Pamphylia had been assigned, had not thought proper to punish this crime. In the neighbourhood of the royal army, far superior to his own, he was contented to remain quiet in the Greater Phrygia, having entrusted the affairs of Pamphylia and Lycia to his friend Nearchus[26], whose nautical abilities seemed well qualified for the superintendence of those maritime provinces. But Perdiccas, after establishing Eumenes, on whose gratitude he perfectly relied, in Cappadocia, was unwilling to leave an unextinguished rebellion in that neighbourhood. At the news

[23] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 16.
[24] Vid. Wesseling. Annot. ad Diodor. loc. citat.
[25] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 46.
[26] Justin, l. xiii. c. 4.

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of his approach, the Pisidian insurgents shut themselves up in the fortified cities of Laranda and Isaura, respectively the capitals of the two revolted districts. Laranda was taken by assault; its inhabitants were massacred or enslaved.[27]

Memorable destruction of Isaura.

But the severe punishment of Laranda, instead of alarming the fears of the Isaurians, only animated their fury. Being well provided with darts as well as armour of defence, they maintained during two days the unbroken strength of their walls. On the third day, their numbers were greatly diminished, their walls in many parts defenceless, and a cruel death, embittered by intolerable indignities, was all that awaited them from the inexorable Perdiccas. Under these circumstances they embraced, in the proud language of antiquity, the heroic resolution of burning their houses, wives, children, parents, with their most precious effects; and again mounting their shattered battlements, repelled the assailants with the most desperate valour. Perdiccas, equally astonished with the resistance which he encountered, and the dreadful conflagration which he beheld, withdrew his men from a place that seemed to be defended by furies. Having no longer an enemy to whom they might dearly sell their lives, the remnant of the Isaurians hurried down from their walls, and impetuously plunged themselves into the midst of the flames.[28] The Macedonians ventured at length to approach

[27] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 22.

[28] Diodorus, ubi supra.

and examine the smoking ruins of Isaura: in which they found very considerable quantities of gold and silver; so universally had those metals been diffused, and that, as we are assured, from far earlier times, over the most barbarous parts of the peninsula.[29] It is worthy of remark, that this signal disaster did not extinguish for ever the courage and renown of the Isaurians. At the distance of seven centuries, their descendants proved more formidable to the Roman emperors[30], than they themselves had been to Alexander's successors. Their countryman, Zeno, at length mounted the throne of Constantinople. But that event, the most splendid in their annals, occasioned their actual subjugation and future obscurity. Drained of its inhabitants, who repaired in crowds to enjoy the smiles and rewards of a distant court, Isauria was ruined in a war of six years, by Anastasius the successor of Zeno, assisted by the desolating arms of the Goths.[31]

Subsequent fortune of the Isaurians to An. Dom. 493.

Perdiccas might have established his greatness by war only, if the resistless army which he commanded had been firmly attached to his interest. But the affection of the veteran troops was riveted, through veneration for Alexander, to the royal line; and by a man who wished to supplant it, no expedient of policy was to be neglected. Ptolemy, who appears early to have perceived that the regent, after confirming his

Perdiccas marries Nicæa, Antipater's daughter. —His motive thereto.

[29] Diodorus, ubi supra.

[30] Histor. August, p. 197.

[31] Malala, vol. ii. p. 106.

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power in the Asiatic peninsula, would attempt to render himself proprietary of an empire of which he had been chosen the protector, secretly negociated with Antipater for their mutual safety. This transaction escaped not the vigilance of Perdiccas. By means of his brother Alcetas, a man formed to play with dexterity a second part, he defeated Ptolemy's design, and entered himself into a treaty with Antipater, whose assistance, particularly in the supply of new levies for the army, was of the utmost importance to either party. According to this treaty, Perdiccas married Nicæa, Antipater's daughter, who was [32] conducted to his camp by her brothers Archias and Jollas.

Repudiates her to marry Cleopatra, Alexander's sister.

This marriage by no means pleased Eumenes, whom of all men Perdiccas most esteemed. It was equally offensive to Olympias, the implacable enemy of Antipater and his family. Eumenes persuaded his friend, that an alliance with the house of Alexander was requisite to the success of his designs. At the same time, Cleopatra, full sister to the late king, returned to Sardes in Lydia; for though ambition was not the ruling passion of that princess, she was guided by her mother Olympias, in whom the lust of power reigned with unbounded sway. The pride of Perdiccas swelled with his fortune; the daughter of Antipater seemed an unequal match; he prepared to repudiate Nicæa that he might marry Cleopatra. [33] But of this

[32] Arrian apud Phot. p. 220. & Plutarch in Eumen.

[33] Id. ibid. & Diodor. l. xviii. s. 23.

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design, before it was carried into execution, a secret intimation was given by Menander[34], governor of Lydia, to Antigonus, who commanded in Phrygia, and probably through *his* means communicated to the royal army.

Murders Cynna, and thereby occasions a sedition.

The Macedonians, though they could not respect, fondly loved king Arrhidæus, whom they affectionately called Philip in remembrance of his father. Instead of more strongly fortifying Perdiccas in his assumed power, they wished rather to exalt into authority their legitimate sovereign, by marrying him to Euridicé, who, as lineal descendant of Philip's eldest brother, would herself have enjoyed the fairest pretensions to the throne, had not custom, which often holds the place of law, excluded females from the command of a martial people. But the characters of Euridicé and her mother Cynna, seemed to arraign the justice of this decision. In complete armour, Cynna had often fought in the first ranks; and her warlike fame had been rivalled by her scarcely marriageable daughter. Her merit surpassing even her illustrious birth, entitled Euridicé to share the throne of Arrhidæus. Cynna supported her claim with the warmth natural to her temper. The jealous ambition of Perdiccas was alarmed; if Cynna prevailed, he feared to lose his credit with the army; and therefore wickedly destroyed, by worse than female perfidy, a woman that opposed him with more than manly bold-

[34] Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

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ness.[35] But the secret murder of Cynna, however artfully disguised, was not condemned by low murmurs of discontent, which liberality and flattery might appease. The spirit of insurrection was general and loud: Perdiccas feared for his life; and escaped immediate danger, by urging the nuptials of Arrhidæus and Euridicé, which were accordingly celebrated.[36]

Euridicé married to Arrhidæus.

Character of Perdiccas's lieutenants and coadjutors.

The unfortunate issue of his execrable crime did not divert the regent from his projects of ambition. Nicæa was repudiated, and his marriage with Cleopatra was only deferred to a more favourable juncture. But the desired event never took place, such was the tumult of affairs in which he was thenceforward involved to the moment of his death. To re-establish his authority with the army, was his immediate and most interesting concern. In effecting this purpose he was assisted by able instruments; men accustomed to deal with, and manage the angry spirits of armed multitudes; of popular virtues, winning address, and intrepid firmness.

Alcetas.

His brother, Alcetas, commanded a division, over which his dexterity was fitted to gain unbounded influence.

Attalus.

Attalus, his brother-in-law, being the husband of Attalanta, Perdiccas's sister, had been intrusted with the fleet collected by Alexander on the Syrian coast.

Aristonous.

Aristonous, a *life-guard* and *companion*, still attended the person of the regent, to whose in-

[35] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. viii. c. 60. & Arrian, ubi supra.

[36] Id. Ibid.

terest, as we have seen above, he was entirely devoted. Seleucus, in early youth, but already conspicuous for policy not less than prowess, had an important command in the cavalry. Even Python, with enmity in his heart, was constrained, by motives that will afterwards appear, to co-operate strenuously in promoting the views of the protector. Above all, Eumenes, whose gratitude knew no bounds to a man by whom he, a stranger, had been raised to an equality with the noblest Macedonian captains, was the counsellor of Perdiccas in every difficulty, his shield and safeguard in every danger.[37]

Seleucus. Python. Eumenes.

By the co-operation of these auxiliaries, Perdiccas, having recovered his credit in the camp, ventured to summon to his presence Antigonus, governor of Phrygia, the only man in the Asiatic peninsula whose character and resources still rendered him formidable. The governors of three other provinces, Menander of Lydia, Philotas of Cilicia, and Asander of Caria, were indeed very unfavourably disposed towards Perdiccas; but they had carefully concealed their animosity, which subsequent transactions brought to light; and they had at their disposal only small bodies of men, incapable of exciting jealousy in the master of a powerful army. But Antigonus, besides the crime of commanding

His enemies, Menander, Philotas, Asander.

Antigonus summoned to answer

[37] The above account of Perdiccas's coadjutors is collected from Diodorus and Arrian. Plutarch, in his Life of Eumenes, is extremely defective, omitting many particulars, in which his hero acted an important part.

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for disobedience.

a considerable force in the heart of the peninsula, had openly disobeyed the royal mandate. He was cited to justify himself before the army, for refusing to assist Eumenes in the Cappadocian war. To this solid ground of accusation, many articles were added more or less important, and some extremely frivolous, but all indicating such an implacable spirit of vengeance, as left no hopes of safety to Antigonus, but in a precipitate flight beyond the reach of his enemies.

He flies to Antipater, and explains to him the views of Perdiccas.

With the decision, conspicuous in many subsequent passages of his life, that general, instead of answering the accusations against him, escaped, with his son Demetrius, and his most confidential friends, to the Ionian coast; embarked in an Athenian vessel at Ephesus; and hastened to Antipater in order to explain to him their common wrongs, and the dangerous views of Perdiccas, who thought of nothing less than usurping the monarchy.[38] The repudiation of Nicæa, the murder of Cynna, the projected marriage with Cleopatra, the tyrannical proceedings towards himself and other governors in Lesser Asia, all these unwarrantable transactions, as well as the atrocious treatment of the Pisidians and Cappadocians, were placed in the strongest light[39] before Antipater and Craterus, who, as joint tutors to the kings and protectors of the empire in Europe, had just put a success-

[38] Arrian apud Phot. et Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 23.

[39] Επτραγωδησας. Arrian, p. 220.

ful termination to the ill-advised rebellion in Greece.

Arrangements of Antipater with his confederates against Perdiccas. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

The importunity of Antigonus was seconded by pressing embassies from Ptolemy, who had been the first to discern Perdiccas's aim at exclusive dominion. By a favourable construction of the act of authority appointing them administrators for the kings in Europe, Antipater and Craterus regarded themselves as bound to maintain the interests of the royal line in every part of the empire. Their admiral Clytus, having recently defeated the Athenian fleet, gave them the command of the sea, and the facility of transporting their veterans into Asia. Their army would be inferior indeed to that of Perdiccas, but they trusted for augmenting it to the disaffection of the provincial governors, and even to the desertion of his own soldiers, among whom the name of Antipater, so long viceroy in Macedon, and that of Craterus so dear to the phalanx, would be sufficient to shake, as they imagined, the upstart authority of the protector. Before crossing the Hellespont, Antipater and Craterus cemented[40] their friendship by the marriage of the latter with a daughter of the former named Phila, a woman of high accomplishments and lofty destiny, since, after the death of her first husband, she became, by her marriage with Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, the root of a long series of Macedonian and Syrian kings. In

[40] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 18.

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the treaty among the enemies of Perdiccas, the interest of Antigonus was not forgotten. His provinces were to be restored to him and augmented: Ptolemy was to enjoy Egypt, and whatever he might conquer in Africa: Craterus was to receive the protectorship in Asia; and Antipater to resume, after his return from this eastern warfare, the administration of Greece and Macedon. During his absence, the affairs of these countries were committed to Polysperchon, the oldest captain who had passed with Alexander into Asia. This appointment was the most injudicious of all Antipater's measures. Polysperchon was an Etolian by birth, and a distinguished leader of the phalanx.[41] He had returned to Europe as second in command with Craterus. Age and experience had given him cunning without any real wisdom; and his deficiency in every moral virtue, which his hypocrisy long concealed, did not belie the odious character of his country.

Deliberations and measures of Perdiccas.

Perdiccas was duly apprised of the confederacy formed against him. He carried on a secret correspondence with the discontented Greeks, particularly the Etolians, who, though often vanquished, had principles and passions never to be subdued. The satrapies forfeited and abandoned by Antigonus, he joined to the valuable provinces already committed to Eumenes. Having called a council of his generals, he deliberated whether it would be most expe-

[41] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 7.

dient to oppose with undivided force Antipater and Craterus: or, after leaving a portion of his army sufficient to repel his enemies on the side of Europe, to hasten his own march into Egypt, and wrest that country from Ptolemy. The expedition against Egypt was preferred.[42] The satrap of that country was considered by Perdiccas as his principal and most inveterate adversary; and the prosperity of Ptolemy, who had recently conquered Cyrené by his fleet, wounded his pride, and embittered animosity by envy.

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He determines to invade Egypt.

While the regent proceeded from Pisidia towards Syria in his way to Egypt, Antipater and Craterus made proper dispositions for crossing early in the spring from the Thracian Chersonesus into Hellespontian Phrygia. The assistance of Attalus and the Asiatic fleet being deemed necessary for ensuring success in the invasion of Egypt, the European troops crossed the Hellespont without any memorable opposition[43]; and, what is more extraordinary, effected their landing, and obtained a firm footing in the province, altogether unresisted. This was partly occasioned by the dissatisfaction of the other officers with the preference given to Eumenes, whom Perdiccas had appointed, during his own absence, supreme commander in Lesser Asia; and partly by the disinclination of the troops to join battle with their countrymen, headed by such favourite commanders as Anti-

Antipater lands unmolested in Asia.

[42] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 29. [43] Arrian apud Phot. p. 220.

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pater and Craterus. The pride of Alcetas could not well brook that through the orders of his own brother, he should be superseded in command by a man of inferior birth and a stranger. Neoptolemus, at the head of a still more considerable body of Macedonians, was from similar jealousy so madly incensed, that he entered into a secret correspondence with Antipater, and was preparing to cut off Eumenes by treachery, when that general, by summoning him to his own presence, brought their quarrel to an open rupture. Neoptolemus was driven to the necessity of braving his commander in the field; and being totally defeated, with the loss or surrender of his infantry, escaped with no small difficulty to Antipater's camp, with a body of three hundred horse.[44]

Treachery and flight of Neoptolemus to Antipater.

His bad advice makes Antipater and Craterus divide their forces.

By the assistance of this scanty reinforcement the traitor little benefited his new friends; but he fatally injured them by the presumptuous folly of his advice. He was a man whose natural pride was heightened by the glory of having first mounted the breach in the memorable assault of Gaza.[45] Being allied to the royal blood of Macedon, he had occasionally served Alexander as chief *hypaspist;* in which quality he boasted of having borne his master's shield and spear, while Eumenes, in the capacity of secretary, carried his portfolio and ink-horn.[46] Whether

[44] Plutarch in Eumen.

[45] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. ii. 27. and History of Ancient Greece, c. 38.

[46] Plutarch in Eumen. p. 585.

his rash confidence made him believe what he asserted, or whether by separating Craterus and Antipater, he wished only to make room for his own advancement to a share in the command, it is certain that he persuaded these generals of the inexpediency of advancing with combined forces against Eumenes. The Asiatic troops of that obstinate adherent to an unworthy master, (for the most magnificent offers had been made in vain to detach Eumenes from his allegiance,) he represented to them as a promiscuous rabble hastily collected, alike destitute of courage and incapable of discipline; and his Europeans, he assured them, would no sooner behold the Macedonian cap of Craterus than they would repair with one consent to his standard. Conformably to his advice, Antipater raised his camp, and proceeded towards the Cilician passes, that he might arrive in time to defend Ptolemy against Perdiccas: while Craterus, accompanied by Neoptolemus, marched against his faithful lieutenant; and in full confidence of victory, prematurely divided, among their soldiers, the spoils of that wealthy adversary.[47]

Eumenes' preparations for resisting Craterus and Neoptolemus.

By rigidly adhering to the rude simplicity of Macedon, while most of his equals plunged headlong into the luxuries of Asia, and still more by asserting the unwarrantable pretensions of his countrymen in opposition to that just equality which the wisdom of Alexander had endeavoured to introduce among all descriptions of his sub-

[47] Plutarch in Eumen. p. 583.

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jects, Craterus had acquired with the Macedonians, extraordinary respect for his character, and unbounded affection for his person.[48] But Eumenes, during the short time that he had held the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, had fashioned an instrument of war, which was no longer to allow the decision of battles to depend on Europeans solely. By granting immunities and honours to such provincials as were willing to serve on horseback, and by mixing in their ranks a due proportion of *equestrian companions*[49], he had raised a body of cavalry, unable indeed to cope in battle with the phalanx, yet calculated to keep in respect that formidable infantry. The great object of Eumenes was to bring his Macedonians into action, without allowing them time to learn that Craterus was their adversary. For this purpose, when informed of the march of that general against him, he industriously gave out that the treacherous Neoptolemus at the head of some contemptible and ill-accoutred Barbarians had again taken arms; at the same time issuing the most positive orders, that on no consideration whatever, any messenger or herald should be received from an infamous rebel, whose baseness had first betrayed his commander, and whose

[48] Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.

[49] Horse disciplined and appointed like those who bore under Alexander that technical name. The Macedonian captains, as we shall see on many subsequent occasions, conformed to the names which their master had imposed, as well as to the institutions which he had established,

mad audacity now challenged him a second time to the field. His superiority in cavalry, which exceeded six thousand, while the enemy's scarcely amounted to one-third of that number, facilitated his means of intelligence, and at the same time intercepted all dangerous communication with the hostile camp.

Battle near the plain of Troy, in which Craterus and Neoptolemus are slain. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

The infantry on either side did not fall short of twenty thousand. The troops of Eumenes were a mixture of Europeans and Asiatics. Those of Craterus consisted almost entirely of the former. This difference, however, was not accompanied with any analogous effect, since, through the dexterity of Eumenes, the engagement was decided without the shock of adverse battalions. On the day of battle he posted his Asiatic horse in opposition to the enemy's right wing commanded by Craterus. The left, headed by Neoptolemus, he determined to combat in person, with his select band of cavalry, only three hundred in number; hoping, whatever might be the fortune of the day, to chastise the insolence and treachery of his personal foe. As soon as the enemy came in sight, descending from a hill in Hellespontian Phrygia, the barbarian cavalry rushed forward to a desperate conflict, in which they had been ordered by Eumenes neither to hear parley nor to give quarter. Craterus, astonished at the regularity and fierceness of their assault, and upbraiding, as is said, the fatal confidence of Neoptolemus, exerted a persevering valour becoming a favourite of Alexander; but being finally dismounted, either

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through the fall of his horse, or the arm of an ignoble Paphlagonian[50], he was trampled under foot, and buried ingloriously in the throng. His cavalry was pursued with great slaughter; and a few only were saved under the protection of the phalanx. Meanwhile an extraordinary spectacle had been exhibited on the opposite wing. Eumenes and Neoptolemus had no sooner beheld each other, than their old animosity, inflamed by recent injuries, transported them into mutual madness. They darted forward with such impetuosity, throwing the reins from their left hands, that in the shock, or subsequent struggle, their horses escaped from under them. Neoptolemus was first on foot, but this seeming advantage only exposed him to a thrust by which he was hamstrung and disabled. The combat fiercely continued, Neoptolemus supporting himself on his knee, until Eumenes inflicted a mortal wound on his antagonist, who expired in the exertion of retorting it. This battle should seem to have been fought at no great distance from the Trojan plain[51], and the combatants rivalled the ferocity of Homer's heroes. From an enthusiastic admiration of their great poet, and still more from the style of war which the nature of their arms compelled them to practise,

[50] Arrian apud Phot. p. 221. Plutarch in Eumen. says a Thracian; for the Paphlagonians, as we have seen, were a mixture of Syrians and Thracians.

[51] Dum hæc apud Hellespontum geruntur, &c. Nepos in Eumen. which is not invalidated by Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 37. Παραταξεως γενομενης περι Καππαδοκιαν: for Cappadocia was the proper province of Eumenes, and the great object of contest.

the Greeks, amidst the highest intellectual attainments and unrivalled productions of taste and genius, often disgraced their valour by sanguinary rage, and worse than brutal savageness.

Eumenes' behaviour towards Craterus.

In this engagement two of Alexander's generals were defeated and slain. Their conqueror was severely wounded. Yet, wounded as he was, Eumenes again mounted on horseback, and as the opposing wing of the enemy was totally routed, hastened to that part of the field where Craterus lay struggling with death. He arrived in time to close the eyes of an ancient and respected friend; and to testify to him the utmost regret that destiny had ever set them at variance.[52]

Flight of the phalanx, and Eumenes' march to Celænæ in Phrygia.

Notwithstanding the complete victory of his horse, Eumenes ventured not to attack the hostile phalanx. But his cavalry surrounded it on all sides. This body of infantry, deprived of their generals, and straitened by their enemies, were summoned to surrender. They feigned compliance; but also craved leave to disperse themselves over the neighbouring hills, that they might supply their urgent wants. This permission being granted, instead of using it honourably, they immediately chose new generals, and hastened in the night across the mountains to join Antipater.[53] Eumenes' infantry was not able to contend with them; the ground was unfavourable to cavalry; his wounds growing

[52] Arrian, p. 221. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 30. and Plutarch in Eumen.

[53] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 32.

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more uneasy disqualified him for the pursuit. But the success which he had already obtained gave him the command of the provinces on this side mount Taurus. He therefore proceeded eastward to the Greater Phrygia, and fixed his head-quarters in the rich and highly ornamented district of Celænæ[54], hoping to gladden Perdiccas with the news of his victories.[55]

Perdiccas's fatal expedition against Egypt. Olymp. cxiv. 4. B. C. 321.

But two days before this news reached Egypt, Perdiccas himself was no more. That general had passed the Cilician straits into Syria. Before invading Egypt he had summoned Ptolemy, as he had formerly done Antigonus, to answer various articles of accusation before the royal army. Ptolemy made his appearance, and justified his whole proceedings to the complete satisfaction of the Macedonians.[56] But the favourite of unsteady multitudes is exposed to lose their affection when he removes from their sight. After Ptolemy's return to his province, the impeachment was again urged, and accumulated with the circumstance of his having arrested the funeral convoy of Alexander, and interred his remains at Alexandria, against the sacred will of the conqueror himself, who had chosen the temple of Hammon for his tomb. Since the separation from his faithful Eumenes, the regent was surrounded by lieutenants less disposed to give him salutary advice, than to hurry him treacherously to his ruin. His brother-in-

[54] Xenoph. Exped. Cyri, l.i. c. 5.

[55] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 32.

[56] Arrian, p. 221.

law, Attalus, and his old companion Aristonous, were almost the only sincere friends whom his tyranny had left him. Python, Seleucus, and Antigenes, a celebrated leader of the hypaspists, were all disgusted with his government, and unfriendly to his person.

Egypt placed in a posture of defence.

Ptolemy, without reposing a weak confidence in his popularity with the royal army, had hastened to place his satrapy in a posture of defiance. He well knew the peculiar advantages of Egypt for defensive war; impenetrable as that country was on the side of Africa, secured on its dangerous sea-coast by a strong fleet, and to an Asiatic enemy opposing the triple barrier of a desert, a marsh, and an impassable river.

Perdiccas's operations against Pelusium defeated.

Meanwhile, Perdiccas led his reluctant army from Syria, towards the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, which forms the eastern boundary of the fertile Delta. The movement of his troops along the coast was accompanied by his fleet under Attalus. On approaching Pelusium, a city surrounded by lakes and marshes [57], he found not only that principal key to Egypt, but every other place on the same frontier so well prepared for defence, that he could not expect to make any sudden impression on that quarter. To facilitate, as it should seem, his operations against Pelusium, he began by clearing an ancient channel, that the incommodious depth of water might be discharged into the sea, only two miles distant; but his labours for this pur-

[57] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 760.

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pose, the strenuous work of many days, were overwhelmed, and in a moment destroyed by an artificial inundation of the Nile. Disappointment increased discontent; and the soldiers seized every opportunity of desertion, rather than continue to encounter difficulties in a hard service under a cruel master. Perdiccas used all the resources with which his authority, his treasures, and his boldness still supplied him, to restrain disaffection, and to excite the keen military passions for victory and plunder.[58]

Unsuccessful assault of the Camels' wall.

To elude the vigilance of the enemy, he raised his camp in the night, and marched with celerity to a broad and shallow part of the Nile, opposite to a fortress called the Camels' wall. His secresy and expedition did not avail him; for, before he had conducted his army half-way across the river, Ptolemy's troops appeared with their general on the opposite bank, hastening to reinforce his garrison, and afterwards expressing their exultation by songs of triumph, for having thus seasonably anticipated the enemy. Perdiccas, however, proceeded to the attack: he commanded the matchless veterans of Alexander, who had never yet suffered a discomfiture in their long and various warfare. The ramparts were assailed with the trunks, and butting strength, of his elephants.[59] His active hypaspists,

[58] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 33.

[59] They are still used in the East Indies for destroying ramparts in the former way. They will pull trees from the ground with their trunks. They fight with fierce emulation against each other, and make prize of ears, tails, &c. torn from their antagonists.

carefully covered by their shields, laboured strenuously to mount the scaling ladders which were already planted on the walls. But their exertions were repelled by equal vigour, and from more advantageous ground. Ptolemy himself gave extraordinary proofs of skill and courage, aiming dexterously with his spear, and thereby blinding the elephants as they advanced to the assault. The battle continued through the greater part of the day, during which time no practicable breach was made in the walls, and many crowded scaling ladders were tumbled headlong into the stream.[60] Perdiccas, obstinate as he was, yielded to the necessity of sounding a retreat, not doubting that his veterans would wash out the infamy of this repulse, in the blood of their upstart rivals.

Dreadful disaster at an island of the Nile, near Memphis.

With the allowance of only a short interval for rest and refreshment, he made another nocturnal march to that part of the bank which is opposite to Memphis; and where two branches of the river, (before they finally separated to enclose the broad Delta,) formed a much smaller island, yet sufficient to lodge with safety a numerous army. His dispositions for crossing this branch of the Nile, which reached to the necks of the men, were judicious. On the left of his infantry, he endeavoured to break the force of the current by a line of elephants; his cavalry passed on the right, that they might pick up and save those of the foot, who were carried down by the strength of the stream. But an extra-

[60] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 34.

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ordinary change in the river itself is said to have baffled these precautions. Whether, that its oozy bed was unable to sustain the incumbent weight; or that some distant sluice suddenly poured into it a new supply of water, or more probably that the agitated sand, scooped from the bottom of the channel, gradually increased its depth, it is certain, that after the first divisions had crossed over with little difficulty, the passage became altogether impracticable to those who came after them: Perdiccas was greatly disconcerted by this unexpected obstacle. In despair of protecting the troops who had already passed, he was obliged to recall to his standard those still struggling with the stream. His soldiers on the opposite bank, perceiving that they were abandoned by their friends, into the hands of far superior enemies, impetuously rushed into the Nile. Those expert at swimming, reached the desired shore with the loss of their armour. Those less skilful, to the number of two thousand, were either carried back to the enemy, or swallowed up by the waters, or being long borne on their surface, were devoured by crocodiles.[61]

Ptolemy's prudent humanity.

Instead of testifying unmanly joy at this disaster, Ptolemy shewed a laudable sympathy even with the distress of invaders. The captives who had fallen into his hands were treated like brethren. Many bodies of the dead were recovered; burned, according to custom, with due lamentations; and their ashes in solemn pomp restored to their friends. This show of humanity

[61] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 35.

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contained much real prudence. The Macedonians were forcibly struck with the contrast between him, whom they had come to combat, and their stern unfeeling master. A conspiracy was formed against Perdiccas, headed by his secret but inveterate enemy Python.[62] The protector's tent was surprised in the night; and he, who had for three years been a terror to his opponents in every part of the empire, fell an easy victim to the hatred of his faithless followers.

Assassination of Perdiccas.

Thus died Perdiccas, who had presumptuously aspired to fill the place of Alexander. In the boldness of his hopes, and the intrepidity of his valour, he was not an unworthy coadjutor to that extraordinary man; but he was entirely destitute of Alexander's nobler virtues; his indulgent humanity, his glowing affections, his passion for arts and letters, that commanding energy which overawes opposition, and that matchless merit which disarms envy. Perdiccas was fitted to act the second part boldly, not to sustain the first wisely. Had his designs been less audacious, or his ambition more discerning, he might certainly have appropriated a valuable portion of the empire, and laid the foundation of a powerful monarchy. But by grasping at objects too lofty, he missed those within his reach. His pride and cruelty brought on him deserved ruin; and, as his towering enterprise had nothing of justness or solidity, he is entitled only to a place among those vulgar

His character.

[62] Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias.

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State of Greece. — Proclamation for recalling Exiles. — Opposition of the Athenians and Etolians. — Lamian War. — Antipater negotiates with the States separately. — The Etolians alone refractory. — History of the Greeks in Africa. — Motives and Object of their first Settlements there. — Commercial Geography of Africa. — Description and History of the Pentapolis. — Its Productions and Arts. — Thimbron's Invasion. — Cyrené reduced under Ptolemy Soter.

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Consequences of Perdiccas's murder. Olymp. cxiv. 4. B. C. 321.

THE death of Perdiccas was followed by dissensions in his great controuling army, by the destruction of the vast fleets collected or created by Alexander, and by a new partition of the provinces bequeathed by that conqueror. Before we proceed to examine these memorable events, we shall previously relate two transactions comparatively unimportant to the empire at large, which happened during Perdiccas's short regency of three years. The first of these transactions, is the rebellion in Greece, and the consequent adjustment of the affairs of that country by Antipater: the second is the conquest of Cyrené by Ptolemy. The former general upheld the dominions entrusted to him by judicious policy; the latter enlarged his province by prudent enterprise.

State of ancient Greece

During eleven years that Alexander spent in Asia, Greece enjoyed an unusual degree of tran-

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during Alexander's reign.

quillity. The authority of the conqueror restrained her domestic wars, and appeased her political animosities. She was exempted from tribute, delivered from the tyranny of garrisons, and, like many other portions of the empire, indulged with the enjoyment of her ancient laws and hereditary government.[1] The Greeks were associated to the glory of Alexander: he affected to be called the general of their confederacy; on *his* part, he protected each city in its rights and possessions: the duty required on theirs, was to acknowledge his mild supremacy, and, in lieu of the contingents of troops which they were severally bound to furnish, to allow the unrestrained freedom of recruiting in their several republics. Under such auspicious circumstances, the Greeks cultivated with ardour their favourite arts. Their productive and commercial industry flourished in the utmost vigour; and, might we judge by the condition of Athens[2], their country was more populous at the æra of Alexander's death, than at any preceding or subsequent period.

His proclamation for reinstating exiles. Olymp. cxiv. 1. B.C. 324.

Such a tide of prosperity recalled to mind their ancient glory, and revived their ill-stifled ambition. To repress more dangerous passions which the remembrance of past times might still kindle, and to secure in each community zealous partisans of the Macedonian interest,

[1] Demosthen. Orat. περι των συνθηκων, p. 84. edit. Wolf.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, l. xviii. s. 18. Conf. Thucydid. l. ii. Plutarch. in Pericle, and Athenæus, l. vi. as I have explained his text in my Introduction to the Orations of Lysias, p. 5.

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the conqueror, shortly before his death, had ordered a proclamation to be made at the Olympic Games, "that the Greek exiles," always a numerous body of men, "should be received into the bosoms of their respective cities, reinstated in their several inheritances, and again admitted to those offices and honours of which the injustice[3] or envy of their rivals had unwarrantably deprived them." Above twenty thousand exiles from particular cities, assisted as spectators or actors at this general and solemn convention. Their joy may be more easily conceived than described, when they heard the Sacred Herald, after he had declared the Olympic victors, announce the will of Alexander, that they, long unhappy fugitives, should be again blessed with a country, a home, and a due share of municipal honours. The whole assembly was filled with sympathetic acclamation, extolling Alexander's discerning bounty, who increased his own fame by acts of public justice and great national utility.[4]

Its general reception among the Greeks.

But amidst the general satisfaction diffused by this decree, the citizens of two republics received it with much uneasiness. The rapacious Etolians had recently expelled their neighbours the peaceful Œniadæ, and appropriated their well-cultivated fields on the banks of the Achelous; and the Athenians, thirty years before the reign of

Why the Athenians and Etolians opposed its execution.

[3] Criminals, particularly those guilty of murder or sacrilege, were excepted. Diodor. l. xvii. s. 8.

[4] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 8.

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Alexander, had driven the Samians from their island, and divided it by lot among Athenian citizens. Both communities trembled for the safety of possessions which they had cruelly usurped. But respect for Alexander's authority made them suppress any strong marks of displeasure. Their feelings were only indicated by a sullen silence in the midst of tumultuous joy. They determined, however, to thwart the obnoxious measure; and, if possible, to prevent its execution.[5]

Their hopes and views.

Upon the death of the Macedonian hero, an opportunity seemed to occur, not only of defeating his proclamation, but of setting at defiance the authority of those who succeeded to his power. At Athens the partisans of the ancient democracy, among whom Hyperides, in the absence of Demosthenes, flamed the brightest and boldest, abhorred the Macedonians through habit, and arraigned their gentle government under the odious name of despotism.[6] Men, less influenced by party spirit, considered that the liberal maxims of Alexander's administration were not likely to be pursued by the selfish jealousy of his successors; and that, amidst the mutual struggles of the Macedonian captains, Greece, if true to herself, might recover, with national independence, her hereditary renown. But the wisest portion of the Athenians, among whom Phocion held the first

[5] Didor. ubi supra.

[6] Της των Μακεδονων δεσποτειας. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 9.

place, perceived that the internal condition of Greece, and still more her situation with regard to foreign powers, by no means entitled her to entertain the same lofty hopes which she had formerly realized.[7] In the best of times the confederacy of her republics had remained imperfect; laboriously consolidated, and easily dissolved. At the present juncture, a greater perseverance of patriotism was not to be expected than in the Persian war. But the veteran troops of Macedon, headed by experienced generals, were enemies more formidable than the unwieldly millions of Xerxes.

Proceedings of the Athenians.

The Athenians having convened to deliberate on the subject of Alexander's decree, the moderation of virtue, the caution of wisdom, and the timidity of wealth, were all overwhelmed by the resistless torrent of popular passions. The needy and profligate multitude, of whom Philip used to say, that they loved war because they had nothing to enjoy in peace, emboldened by the inflammatory harangues of their favourite demagogues, determined to launch their fleet, to hire mercenaries, to summon the aid of their allies; and promised, what they had often before promised in vain, personally and in one body to take the field. Their resolution was fortified by a previous measure, which should seem to have been concerted among the popular leaders, upon a rumour of Alexander's death. Several bodies of Greek soldiers, discontented

[7] Plutarch. in Phocion.

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with their service in Asia, through mere restlessness of disposition, or a longing for their native country, had found their way home chiefly in Athenian vessels, and rendezvoused to the number of eight thousand near Cape Tenarus in Laconia. The secret council of Athenian demagogues wished to gain to their views this large reinforcement of well-disciplined troops. They commissioned, therefore, Leosthenes, their fellow-citizen and friend, a man whose great military talents were deformed by no other fault than that of too boiling a valour, to treat secretly with the disbanded mercenaries at Tenarus; hoping that many of them would be glad to accept the offer of a lucrative service under a brave commander, even in a less glorious cause than that of restoring their country's freedom.

Their animated decree. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B.C. 323.

When, not only the death of Alexander, but the discord among his friends and successors was made known in Greece, the Athenian orators boasted of their own foresight and of Leosthenes's activity[8]; the assembly confirmed his proceedings; he was voted, by acclamation and holding up of hands, general of the commonwealth. At the instance of Hyperides, for Demosthenes still lived in banishment at Megara[9], an act of assembly was hastily passed, stating in the enthusiasm of virtue and patriotism, that the Athenians

[8] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 9.

[9] In consequence of his condemnation for taking a bribe. See History of Ancient Greece, vol. iv. c. 39. p. 369. Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 8. & Plutarch in Demosthen. & in Phocion.

had ever regarded the cause of Greece as their own, and had resolved, as firmly now as heretofore, to assert the national interest and glory by their fleet and army, their property and their persons. By virtue of this emphatic decree, which, as usual with imitations in a degenerate age, copied in lines, bold and exaggerated, the sober magnanimity of the ancient republic, ambassadors were dispatched to every city of Greece from the southern extremity of Laconia to the northern confines of Thessaly. Demosthenes, though convicted, dishonoured, and exiled, joined himself to the ambassadors; and commissioned only by his resentment and love of liberty, enjoyed, for the last time, an opportunity of inveighing against the barbarous Macedonians, and confirming the revived hopes of his country.[10]

The Grecian levies for the war.

When thus instigated to action by ardent embassies from Athens, the Greeks presented not the same well-harmonized picture which we formerly delineated. Their conquerors had adopted the artifice of dividing, in order to govern; and Greece, instead of sixteen, contained above sixty, independent republics. When summoned to this new confederacy, many districts or townships contracted for themselves, regardless of the authority of their ancient capitals. In former times, the power of Athens had been rivalled by Sparta and Thebes. But Thebes was now no more; Sparta sullenly rejected a league of which

[10] Plutarch in Demosthen. Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 10.

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Athens was the head; and both the Achæans and Arcadians feared to engage in distant warfare, while the yet formidable Spartans remained at home, hovering in hostility on their frontiers. But most of the inferior cities, whether capitals or emancipated dependencies, listened to the Athenian orators who inflamed their zeal, and roused their animosity; while the Athenians themselves levied about six thousand domestic troops [11], to reinforce the mercenaries under Leosthenes. That general having marched towards Etolia, had been joined there by above seven thousand young men, the flower of the Etolian nation. Elated by this accession of force, he dispatched emissaries to Doris, Phocis, and the neighbouring districts overshadowed by towering ridges from Pelion to Parnassus, exhorting those hardy mountaineers to unite with heart and hand in a cause not less promising than glorious, and redeem the honour of Greece, too long and too cruelly insulted by the despotism of the Macedonians.

Antipater's preparations for crushing the rebellion.

The bustle of these preparations was sufficient to have alarmed a man less suspicious than Antipater. But the anxious suspense occasioned by the events consequent on his master's death, had occupied and engrossed his mind; and his vigilance is strongly impeached in the omission of taking into pay the mercenaries assembled at Cape Tenarus, especially as Macedon abounded in money, the ransacked spoils of Asia, but was

[11] Οι πολιτικοι. Diodor. & Plutarch.

exceedingly drained of men through continual and distant service. Only thirteen thousand foot and six hundred horse are said to have followed Antipater into Thessaly [12]; but he demanded assistance from Leonnatus [13], the governor of Lesser Phrygia, and sent messengers to quicken the speed of Craterus who was marching to Macedon with ten thousand veterans.

The same military object aimed at by both parties.

The object of Antipater, as well as of the allied Greeks, was to seize the straits of Thermopylæ, the principal pass from Thessaly into the central provinces of Phocis and Bœotia. If Antipater attained this end, he would thereby separate the Thessalians from the confederacy, and acquire the seasonable assistance of their excellent cavalry. Should the Greeks anticipate his purpose, they doubted not to have the Thessalians for friends instead of enemies. With this view the domestic troops of the Athenians, levied with much expedition, hastened to Thermopylæ; but in their way thither, encountered unexpected danger from the misguided rage of the Bœotians. That unhappy people, whose fate it was at every important crisis to oppose the general cause of Greece, were blinded on the present occasion by avarice. Having divided among their own cities or communities, the lands and spoils of demolished Thebes, they dreaded a new revolution through which they might be compelled to relinquish their usurped possessions. But the

The Athenians defeat the Bœotians. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

[12] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 12.

[13] Plutarch in Eumen. *Philotas*, in Diodorus, is plainly an error of transcribers.

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Athenians, assisted by Leosthenes, who, having already reached the straits, hastened with a detachment to their relief, totally routed those unworthy adversaries; and, having taken post at Thermopylæ, firmly waited the approach of Antipater. [14]

Repel Antipater, and shut him up in Lamia.

He arrived, fought, and met with the first severe check which the Macedonians had experienced in the course of their long and various warfare. Unable either to renew the engagement, or to retreat safely towards Macedon, he threw his forces into Lamia, a well-fortified city of Thessaly, near the confluence of the Achelous and Sperchius, whose united stream falls at the distance of six miles into the Malian gulph. Leosthenes attempted repeatedly, but ineffectually, to storm the town, before Macedonian reinforcements should arrive from Asia. He was compelled, with much regret, to change the siege into a blockade. [15] During this tedious service, the Etolians, who formed an important part of his army, craved leave, with their usual inconstancy, to return home: and their request was granted, because the denial of it could not have changed their purpose. Antipater availed himself of this desertion to make a sally, which was bravely repelled by the besiegers, but in which Leosthenes fell while he exposed his person too rashly. [16] To reward his military merit, which had first turned the tide of success against a nation long deemed invincible, he was

Leosthenes the Athenian general slain in a sally.

[14] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 11.
[15] Id. s. 12. & Pausan. Attic.
[16] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 13.

buried with *heroic* honours: his funeral oration was pronounced by the eloquence of his countryman Hyperides; and Antiphilus, both his countryman and friend, was chosen by acclamation to succeed him in the command.[17]

Approach of Leonnatus with his army.

Meanwhile Leonnatus sailed unmolested from Hellespontian Phrygia, the Macedonian fleet under Clytus commanding the narrow seas, and keeping at a respectful distance above two hundred Athenian galleys entrusted to Eetion. The army of Leonnatus amounted to twenty-three thousand, of which number two thousand five hundred were cavalry. Influenced, however, by the intrigues of Olympias, and the levity of his own character, he had assembled this powerful force, not merely to resist the rebellion of Greece, but far more that he might overawe Antipater, and supplant him in his government of Macedon.[18] Upon Leonnatus's approach, the Greeks suddenly quitted their works at Lamia. The useless multitude, together with the heavy baggage and military engines, were deposited in the neighbouring strong-holds of Thessaly, whose garrisons were friendly to their interests. With a light, but well-equipped army, they advanced northwards to meet Leonnatus, and intercept his junction with Antipater. The encounter happened on the northern confines of Thessaly. Notwithstanding the defection of the Etolians,

[17] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 13. & Plut. in Demosthen.

[18] Arrian apud Phot. p. 20. obscurely hints at Leonnatus's intrigues, αλλα φαινεται Λεοννατος επιβουλευειν δοκων τω Αντιπατρῳ. These dark transactions are explained fully by Plutarch in Eumen.

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the Greek infantry still amounted to twenty-two thousand; and their cavalry, chiefly Thessalians, exceeded by one thousand that of the enemy. By the resistless impression of this body of horse, commanded by Menon the Thessalian, a brave and accomplished leader, the enemy's squadrons were repelled and routed: Leonnatus, who headed them, was slain; and his phalanx of infantry was compelled to retire in disorder to the neighbouring mountains.[19] While Antiphilus pursued the scattered enemy, and the Greeks offered their accustomed thanksgivings for victory, Antipater found means to join forces with the vanquished. Yet such was his respect for the Thessalian cavalry that, to avoid engaging them on the plain, he retreated towards Macedon over the craggy ridges of Thessalian Olympus, anxiously expecting the arrival of Craterus with a fresh reinforcement from Asia.

Victory of the Greeks. — Leonnatus slain.

Craterus at length arrived with a veteran force, well calculated to retrieve the losses of his country. Besides ten thousand Macedonians, hardened in many a laborious campaign, he brought with him into Thessaly a thousand Persian archers, and fifteen hundred cavalry; the seas being cleared for his transports through the defeat of Eetion the Athenian, by his antagonist Clytus the Macedonian.[20] Having joined Antipater, to whom Craterus readily yielded the chief command, the new army en-

The Greeks defeated in a decisive battle at Cranon. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

[19] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 15. [20] Diodor. ibid.

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camped with their vanquished countrymen on the banks of the Peneus, which flows into the Thermaic gulph, through the delightful vale of Tempé compressed by the woody sides of Ossa and Olympus. The united forces of the Macedonians consisted of forty thousand heavy-armed men; three thousand archers and slingers; and five thousand cavalry. The Greeks, originally inferior in number, were weakened by the defection of several petty states, whose contingents had followed the example of the Etolians in returning home to attend their domestic affairs; or, after the first successes of their arms, to enjoy their shows and triumphs, as if a single victory over Antipater had happily terminated the war. Antiphilus and Menon lamented this fatal folly, and studiously avoided an engagement against desperate odds. But the Macedonian generals knew their business too well to humour this inclination, and soon brought the enemy to battle between the obscure town of Cranon and the mountains of Kynocephalæ.[21] The Thessalian horse, headed by the brave Menon, still maintained their pre-eminence; but the Grecian infantry gave way with the loss of five hundred men, before the shock of Craterus's veterans. They retreated to the neighbouring hills, and were joined there by the cavalry.[22]

This battle, so inconsiderable in point of bloodshed, decided the fortune of the war, and

Negotiation and treaty of

[21] Plutarch in Demosthen. [22] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 16, 17.

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peace with the Greek states separately.

the subsequent condition of Greece. A herald was sent to Antipater, craving the bodies of the slain. But that general, grown old in the arts of government, declared that he would not receive any message from the Greeks in common; each city must treat with him apart. When the allies rejected this proposal, Antipater proceeded to lay hold on several places in Thessaly, to which he granted easy terms of peace. This artful proceeding detached the Thessalians from the confederacy. Other states, now in despair of success, were forward in making submission[23]; and in professing their readiness to receive Macedonian garrisons as well as to change their democracies into oligarchies; the latter form of republicanism, as the most easily manageable, being that which was always the most agreeable to their conquerors.

The negotiation with the Athenians in particular.

The Athenians and Etolians alone continued refractory. Antipater, therefore, determined to lead his army against Athens. In his progress thither he entered Bœotia, and encamped near the half-ruined citadel of desolated Thebes. Instead of opposing his progress by an army, the Athenians, passing from obstinacy to meanness, met him by a suppliant embassy of three citizens, whose personal influence was most likely to soften his resolutions. At the head of the embassy for peace, they sent Phocion their best general, who had always most earnestly dis-

[23] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 17.

suaded them from unprofitable wars. To Phocion they joined the orator Demades, an old and steady partisan of the Macedonian interest; and Xenocrates, the revered successor of Plato in the academy: a philosopher whose gravity and austerity seemed likely to command respect from the most triumphant conqueror. But Xenocrates did not meet with even civility from Antipater; who, receiving Phocion and Demades cordially, scarcely saluted the philosopher, rudely interrupted his discourse, and finally compelled him to an abrupt silence. By a zealous Platonician[24], who, in his Life of Phocion, has related some particulars of this negotiation, the behaviour of Antipater is ascribed to his grossness, brutality, and natural antipathy to every semblance of virtue; an accusation itself equally gross and absurd, since glaringly belied by the public and private character of this illustrious Macedonian. But the virtues of the Athenian Xenocrates were disgraced by asperity and obstinacy. As successor to Plato, he defended dogmatically the errors of that fanciful but admired teacher, whose plastic fancy had given beauty and brilliancy to many extravagant chimæras. The *Ideas*, and other vaporous creations of Plato, had been assailed and dissipated by the enlightened reason of Aristotle. Xenocrates considered confutation as injury, and long viewed the Stagirite with hatred, which the latter is said to have answered by contempt.[25] When we con-

Why some particulars of it misrepresented by Plutarch.

[24] Plutarch in Phocion.

[25] Diogen. Laert. in Aristotel. and the Life of Aristotle prefixed to my translation of his Ethics, &c. vol. i. p. 29. 3d edit.

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sider that Aristotle from his youth to his death had continued the most respected friend of Antipater[26], we need not be surprised that the rivalship of the two great literary ornaments of Greece should have influenced the present negotiation. Xenocrates resented the coldness of his reception, by saying, "he wondered not that Antipater should not look him in the face, lest he might have him for a witness of his intended injustice against Athens." Such unseasonable incivility was only calculated to widen the breach of his country with a resistless enemy. But, through the interposition of Phocion, peace was obtained on condition "that the Athenians should new-model their dangerous democracy, should make pecuniary compensation for the expenses incurred by the war, surrender their turbulent demagogues, Demosthenes and Hyperides, and receive a Macedonian garrison into their fortified harbour Munychia.[27] Phocion pleaded strongly against the garrison; but Antipater answered, "My dear Phocion, no request of yours should ever be made in vain, with the exception of that only, which, if granted, would ruin both myself and you." Harsh as the conditions were, the Athenians felt the necessity of ratifying them. In addition to other misfortunes, they had been again defeated at sea, an element long propitious to their ancestors. The action was fought

[26] Diogen. ibid. and Life of Aristotle, p. 56.

[27] Pausan. Achaic. c. 10. Plutarch in Phocion, & Diodor. l. xviii. s. 18.

off the coast of Thessaly in the Malian gulph near the small islands called Echinades, and between the same commanders as formerly, Clytus and Eetion; the latter of whom lost a great part of the hundred and seventy galleys with which he had been entrusted.[28] Dispirited by calamities on every side, they agreed to deprive all citizens, not possessing an income of two thousand drachmas[29], of suffrage in the assembly. Athens then contained thirty thousand citizens, of whom twenty-one thousand were, on account of their mean circumstances, disfranchised.[30] Among these nearly twelve thousand[31], whose seditious poverty had been perpetually embroiling the affairs of the commonwealth, were on this occasion transplanted into vacant districts of Thrace, with a due assignment of lands from Antipater in concurrence with Lysimachus, who commanded in that province. The nine thousand comparatively rich citizens, protected by a Macedonian garrison in the Munychia, thenceforward conducted quietly and prudently the affairs of the commonwealth, under the direction of Phocion, until a new and more bloody revolution.[32]

Death of Demosthenes and

The only victims indeed of the present change of government, were Demosthenes and

[28] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 15.

[29] Sixty pounds, nearly.

[30] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 18.

[31] Plutarch in Phocion. He confounds the number sent into Thrace with the whole number of poor citizens stated at 21,000 in Diodorus.

[32] Diodorus & Plutarch, ibid.

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Hyperides. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

Hyperides. But of these two, each was a host. They had both fled at the approach of Antipater, and had been respectively overtaken by his emissaries in the small islands of Calauria and Ægina, near the coast of Argos, in the Saronic gulph. The deaths of these orators have been embellished by many tragic [33] circumstances, probably invented in their own times by the admirers of their patriotism, and easily admitted afterwards by the admirers of their eloquence. The seventy-seven orations of Hyperides have long since perished [34]; and his name only lives in the consenting eulogy of criticism. [35] Among the titles of his discourses, we read "impeachment of Demosthenes," probably the speech in which he impartially and boldly arraigned his great coadjutor in the commonwealth, for accepting the bribes of Harpalus. [36] For this offence Demosthenes was banished Athens, and continued in exile at Megara, until the common cause of Greece restored him to his country, and the forgiveness of his ancient friend. As the fame of Demosthenes flourished from age to age with encreasing vigour, a dark shade thickened over the monument of Antipater. The same eloquence, which, with the living voice, arraigned and often tra-

[33] Plutarch in Demosthen.

[34] Photius and others ascribed to him the oration still extant in the works of Demosthenes: περι των προς Αλεξανδρον συνθηκων. Demosth. Wolf. p. 86. But that oration is not marked by excellence, and is only valuable for its facts, unnoticed elsewhere.

[35] Quintilian, Longinus, & Dion. Chrysost. Dissert. viii.

[36] Plutarch in Demosth. & in Phocion. & Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 8.

duced Philip, still continued in the dead letter to vilify and disgrace his honest and able minister; for it is the glory of letters that the wrongs done to any of their real ornaments are immortal!

The Samians recover their country after a banishment of forty-three years.

During these proceedings in Greece, the affair of Samos, which had first occasioned the rebellion, was settled by the authority of Perdiccas, who, notwithstanding his personal hostility to Antipater, still co-operated with him in the common concerns of the empire. The Athenians were divested of their usurped property in the island; and the expelled Samians, or their descendants, now languishing in miserable exile in many different parts of Greece, were reinstated in their hereditary possessions, of which they had been deprived forty-three years.[37]

Fierce resistance of the Etolians.

After the submission of Athens, the Etolians only remained hostile; and that daring people were still undaunted, though on all sides deserted. When Antipater and Craterus marched against them, they assembled to the number of ten thousand fighting men. The helpless part of their communities with their most precious effects were conveyed to strong castles among the mountains. The fields and villages in the open country were abandoned. The warriors took post in narrow and intricate avenues, and often repelled the Macedonians, until, by a new succession of assailants, the receding Etolians

[37] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 18.

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were cooped up within the gorges of hills covered with snow, alike destitute of corn and cattle. When no alternative remained but that of starving amidst winter storms, or descending to combat a far superior enemy, fortune in pity to their valour sent Antigonus from Asia, to display in such strong colours the dangerous views of Perdiccas, that the Macedonian generals were in haste to abandon the Etolian war. To this fierce nation they granted a present peace, firmly resolving, however, as soon as the urgency of more important concerns allowed leisure and opportunity, to transplant such obstinate rebels from Greece into some remote region of Asia.[38] But their meditated vengeance was not carried into execution. The Etolians, encouraged by Perdiccas, renewed the war; though often vanquished by the Macedonians, they were never thoroughly subdued: and their love of independence, or rather their aversion to the restraints of regular government, their rapacity, and ferocity, deform the last pages of Grecian history.

Conquest of Cyrené, by Ptolemy. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

The ambition of Alexander's immediate successors collected into one sphere of action all the scattered communities belonging to the Grecian name, in the three divisions of the ancient world. During the regency of Perdiccas, the remote colony of Cyrené, which from its establishment on the African coast, six hundred and thirty-one years before the Christian æra,

[38] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 24, 25.

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had taken but a feeble interest in the affairs of the mother-country[39], first emerges into such historical importance, as demands our attention to the primary object or design of that remote settlement; and the principal proceedings through which that desired end was either promoted or thwarted. Upon this disquisition I enter with the greater pleasure, because the observations applicable to Cyrené in Africa, perfectly accord with the history already given of many and more considerable emporiums in Asia.

Early connection of Greece with that part of the African coast.

The amours of Jupiter with the African nymph Cyrené[40], the temple of Minerva on the lake Tritonis[41], the ægis of the goddess invented by the inhabitants of that neighbourhood[42], and the famed garden of the Hesperides, from which Hercules transported the golden apples[43], all these circumstances point to an early intercourse between Greece and that part of the Mediterranean coast, which lay directly eastward of the domain of Carthage. When we descend in history to more solid ground, there is abundant evidence that this intercourse was encouraged by repeated and earnest admonitions of the oracle of Delphi[44]; a circumstance in conjunction with particulars to be immediately related,

[39] See History of Ancient Greece, v. i. c. 8. and v. iii. c. 24.

[40] Pausan. in Laconic. [41] Scylax, Perip. p. 49.

[42] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 189.

[43] Diodorus, Hyginus, Apollodorus. Conf. Rennell's Geog. of Herodot. p. 611.

[44] Herodot. l. iv. c. 164. et passim.

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indicating that the priests of Greece were not less zealous than those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Assyria, in extending the commercial relations of their country.

Cause of that connection—Commercial geography of Africa.

Africa, whose finest regions since the downfall of the Roman empire in the west, have been desolated by Vandals and Arabs, by sanguinary barbarism, intolerant and more sanguinary superstition, abounded, as it still abounds, in precious commodities, which strike the mind more powerfully, because they are distributed by the hand of nature, into large and distinct masses. The whole continent is separated by the intermediate Sahara or desert, into Libya and Ethiopia; and Libya, the northern division, stretching from the Atlantic to Egypt, was early distinguished into two broad belts, of which the nearest, now called Barbary, forms the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean, and the other partially disjoined from it by scattered branches of mount Atlas, is known by a harsh Arabic name [45] denoting the land of dates; an article in all ages of indispensable use to its inhabitants. The same tract is called by Herodotus the land of wild beasts [46]; and it is still infested by these savages beyond any other country in the world. The wild beasts naturally retired from the populous haunts of men, and the well-cultivated shores of the Mediterranean. In the country of dates, they had fewer enemies to fear; and when at any time very obstinately assailed, might secure

[45] Beledulgerid. [46] Λιβυη θηριωδης. Herodot. l. iv. c. 181.

their safety by retreating into the southern desert.

Ethiopia.

Beyond this huge belt of sand, in many parts a thousand miles broad, and in length commensurate with the continent which it deforms, the Ethiopia of the Greeks corresponded nearly with the Soudan or Negritia of modern geographers.[47] It comprehended, in general, Africa south of the desert; the inhabitants of its western parts are described in antiquity, as a black, dwarfish, and harmless people[48]; but the eastern Ethiopians were remarkable for their lofty stature, their beauty, and their longevity.[49] The whole country was famed for the rich productions of ivory, ebony, and gold. Its plains were often covered with tall forests of wonderful variety and beauty, and its diversified hills of moderate ascent contained copious mines of gold, within a few fathoms of the surface. With whatever terrors nature had clothed the intermediate regions of Africa, she had, therefore, with her usual bounty made compensation, by enriching and adorning the extremes of Ethiopia and Libya.[50]

Libya.

The western division of Libya, comprehending Mauritania and Numidia, with the proper domain of Carthage, still retains great fertility and populousness, notwithstanding many successive

[47] Herodot. l. iii. c. 114. Conf. Poiret, Description de la Negritie, Labat. relat. nouvelle de l'Afrique, and Proceedings of African Association.

[48] Herodot. l. ii. c. 32. & l. iv. c. 42.

[49] Herodot. l. iii. c. 17. et seq. & l. vii. p. 70.

[50] Herodot. ibid. Conf. Bruce's Travels, v. i. p. 382. et passim.

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ravages of desolating Barbarians. The eastern division, extending from the neighbourhood of Tunis to Egypt, is formidable to mariners on account of the dangerous Syrtes, and repulsive in the interior country on account of the sandy plains of Barca and Marmarica. Yet the Syrtic region itself was renowned for the happy and hospitable Lotophagi[51]; and another district in the same region borrowing its name from the river Cinyps, by which it is watered, equalled[52] in exuberance the Assyrian plains. To the eastward of Cinyps and the great Syrtis, the bold coast of Cyrené[53] projects towards Crete and the Peloponnesus, with the same hostile aspect that Carthage advances to meet, as it were, and defy Sicily and Italy. The gardens of the Hesperides, and the fertile territory surrounding them, which returned all kinds of grain with the increase of an hundred fold[54], had early attracted the notice of those Greeks most ambitious of colonization and conquest. On the greatest part of the African shore their enterprise had been anticipated by the Phœnicians.[55] But their priests, and especially those of Delphi, still[56] directed their views to the elevated tract of Cyrené, which hitherto remained unoccupied, and which, besides the temptation of a rich soil

[51] Strabo, l. iii. p. 157. and Plin. l. vi. c. 7.

[52] Herodot. l. iv. c. 171—198.

[53] Cyrené properly denotes a city, but is commonly applied by Greek writers to the whole territory of Cyrenaica, of which that city was the capital.

[54] Herodot. ibid.

[55] See above Survey, s. iv.

[56] Herodot. l. iv. c. 155.

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for tillage; offered them an easy participation, by the intervention of neighbouring Nomades, in the valuable commerce of gold, ebony, and ivory. As the nations of antiquity traded chiefly with their own colonies, a settlement on the African coast, appeared the surest expedient for procuring those commodities in abundance. Such are the notices which seemed necessary as a key to the following short narrative of the origin, progress, prosperity, and downfall of the first establishment formed by Europeans in Africa.

The Greeks under Battus colonize a desert island on the African coast. Olymp. xxxvii. 2. B. C. 631.

In the diminutive island of Thera, the most southern of the Cyclades, Polymnestus, a powerful citizen, had a bold and ambitious son, who, enduring impatiently an ungraceful[57] hesitation in his speech, applied to the oracle of Delphi, about the best means for remedying that defect. Instead of answering him on the subject of his voyage, the oracle saluted him by the name of Battus, which in the Libyan language signifies a king, and exhorted him to lead a colony into Libya. The foundation of new cities seems, on this as on other occasions, to have been embellished by fables. The disobedience of Battus to the oracle was punished, we are told, by a dreadful drought at Thera, which left not a single tree on the island. The distressed inhabitants having sent a deputation to

[57] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 155. The son of Polymnestus not only hesitated, but had a difficulty in pronouncing certain letters. See Aristotle's definition of ισχνφωνια and τραυλοτης (Problem xi. 30.) the defects ascribed by Herodotus to Battus.

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consult the god, received for answer, that their affairs would grow prosperous, if they assisted Battus in colonizing Cyrené. In consequence of this admonition, two galleys, each of fifty oars, sailed towards the African coast, but instead of landing on the continent, only occupied the little desert island of Platæa, in a deep bay about a hundred miles eastward of the lofty table-land, to which the oracle had directed them. In this inhospitable spot, the Thereans might have perished for hunger, had not their wants been relieved by a Samian vessel, which, in her voyage to Egypt, happened to touch at Platæa; and whose generous assistance on this occasion gave birth to the intimate friendship which afterwards subsisted between Samos and Cyrené.[58] Disappointed in the hopes which had produced their migration from Thera, Battus and his companions again had recourse to the god, complaining that though they had obeyed his injunction, and established a colony in Libya, calamity still pursued them in that new settlement. The Pythia answered, that their sagacity was indeed admirable, if they, who had never yet landed in Libya, should know it better than herself, who had travelled in that country. Conformably to this answer, they transferred their colony from the isle of Platæa to a place called Aziris on the opposite continent, a beautiful and well-watered district, almost surrounded by hills of easy ascent, and

[58] Herodot. l. iv. c. 152.

which waved with shadowy forests.[59] At Aziris, and afterwards at Cyrené, which the Libyans encouraged them to occupy, by saying that rain was peculiarly abundant in that quarter[60], the colonists remained forty years under Battus, and sixteen under Arcesilaus his son. They received not however any considerable accession from Greece, until the reign of the second Battus, surnamed the Happy.

A new Grecian colony sent to Africa. Olymp. xlvii. 2. B. C. 591.

Under the fortunate administration of this third king, the oracle strongly exhorted the Peloponnesians, the Cretans, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring Cyclades, to colonize Libya, and to divide its lands with their Cyrenean brethren. In consequence of this admonition, the emigrants were so numerous, and the territories which they required for their subsistence so considerable, that the Libyans, who had treated the first settlers as friendly traders, began to take the alarm, and applied for assistance to Apries, king of Egypt, on promise of submitting themselves as tributaries to that power. Apries listened to their request; but the powerful army which he sent to their relief was so completely defeated in the district Trasa, contiguous to Aziris, that few messengers returned to announce the public calamity[61]: while the disasters above related, of Apries and of Egypt, prevented any retaliation on the part of that monarchy.

[59] Herodot. l. iv. c. 157.

[60] The heavens they said were bored at Cyrené. Id. l. iv. c. 158.

[61] Herodot. l. iv. c. 159.

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Seditions in Cyrené and cause thereof. Olymp. lii. 3. — lxxxvii. 2. B.C. 570— 431.

After this illustrious victory, gained five hundred and seventy-two years before Christ, the Greeks, had they remained true to themselves, might have established their dominion so firmly on the African coast, as would have reversed its future fortune, and converted into a source of civilization and light, a country destined to become the perpetual abode of dreary darkness and sullen barbarism. But the insolence of prosperity was accompanied by growing dissensions, among men collected from a variety of coasts and isles, which terminated in rebellion against Arcesilaus their fourth king, son to Battus the Happy. The insurrection was headed by four brothers to the king.[62] Being expelled from Cyrené, the rebels retreated to the distance of fourscore miles into the southern district of Barca, founded the city of that name, and entered into an unnatural alliance with the Libyans. Soon afterwards, Arcesilaus met his united enemies in the field at Leucon, in Libya. The battle was unfortunate; he lost seven thousand heavy-armed men; and returned to his strong-hold of Cyrené in disgrace, followed by sickness. In this condition, a medicine was prescribed to him for procuring sleep; under the operation of which, he was strangled by Learchus, his fifth brother, and the only one not in open rebellion.

Tragic events in the family

Learchus was impelled to this enormity by a criminal passion for Eryxo, the wife of Arcesi-

[62] Stephen. Byzant. voc. Βαρκη.

laus, and the bold avenger of his murder. When solicited in marriage by the traitor, the bold artifice of Eryxo dissembled any personal reluctance, provided Learchus' demand should meet with the approbation of her family. The answer of the family was purposely delayed: the lover grew impatient: an assignation was made; and Learchus, being received into the bed-chamber of Eryxo, was slain by her brother Polyarchus and two armed accomplices.[63]

CHAP. III. of Arcesilaus.

The tragical deaths of Arcesilaus and Learchus left the throne of Cyrené open to the son of the former, named Battus III. But the distractions of the colonists were not yet at an end. The African Greeks had been collected, as we have seen, from a wide variety of states, some subject to kings, others governed as republics more or less popular. The principal causes of discord were thus of a political nature; and for the removal of them recourse was again had to Delphi. The Pythia exhorted the speedy demand of a legislator from the Arcadian republic of Mantinæa, which at that time was regarded as the model of a wise commonwealth, and which had even introduced, as we have shewn in another work[64], such a refined plan of representative government, as might have been imparted with much benefit to growing colonies, diffused at wide intervals over the African coast. Demonax, the Arcadian, who came to

[63] Plutarch de Virtut. Mulier. and Herodotus, l. iv. c. 160.

[64] See my translation of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, v. ii. p. 76. 3d edit.

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cure the evils of Cyrené, divided its inhabitants into three tribes; the first consisted of the Thereans and their neighbours; the second of the Peloponnesians and Cretans: the third, of all the other islanders who had assisted in forming the settlement. We are not told whether these tribes were placed with regard to each other on a foot of equality, or by what differences of political rights they were distinguished. Collectively they engrossed all those powers, deliberative, executive, and judicial, which formerly centered in the king; whose prerogative was now confined to the exclusive dignity of certain priesthoods, and to the enjoyment of an appropriate domain, wider and more valuable than the estates of other citizens. [65]

Enormities and sufferings of Arcesilaus IV. and his mother. Olymp. lxxx. 1.—lxxxvi. 4. B.C. 460—432.

Battus IV., who had succeeded to the throne, bore his degradation patiently; being a man of an unambitious temper, and besides, afflicted from his youth with a lameness in his feet, which, in some measure, disqualified him for the fatiguing duties of public life. His son, Arcesilaus IV., endeavoured to resume the plenitude of royal power. He was expelled the country; but restored through the assistance of the Samians, his hereditary friends; and having disgraced his good fortune by atrocious cruelty, was slain in the streets of Barca, by the indignant kinsmen of those Cyrenians whom he had banished, murdered, or burned alive in a great tower distinguished by the name of its builder Aglamachus. [66] Abominable were

[65] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 161.

[66] Ibid. c. 162.

the proceedings of Greek tyrants, in all quarters of the world. In proportion to the high spirit of liberty among the people, the more horrid examples seemed necessary to overawe them.

While Arcesilaus still lived at Barca, his mother Pheretima, a woman of a masculine spirit, sustained the government of Cyrené; presiding personally as chief magistrate in the deliberations of the senate. But, upon the death of her son, Pheretima being divested of her authority, escaped into Egypt, and obtained from Aryandes, who governed that province under Darius Hystaspis, the assistance of a Persian army, through which the ambitious satrap hoped to conquer Libya, and with which the enraged queen expected to inflict vengeance on her enemies. The victories of the Persians put Barca into her hands after a long siege. Upon entering the place she impaled and left hanging on the walls the men in arms, and above this horrid fret-work, is said to have raised one still more abominable, the dissevered bosoms of their wives and kinswomen. In attempting to gain by assault the stronger city Cyrené, the Persians were seized with a panic terror. Their return to Egypt was harassed by the predatory pursuit of the Libyan Nomades. Pheretima accompanied their disgraceful retreat, and died soon afterwards most miserably: a just judgement of the gods, as Herodotus piously deems it, against the mad fury of revenge.[67]

[67] Herodotus, l. iv. p. 202. et seq.

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Flourishing state of Cyrené. Olymp. lxxxvii. 1. cxiv. 2. B. C. 432 —323.

The Cyrenians had remained two[68] centuries under Battus and his descendants, whose dominion expired amidst a dreadful accumulation of crimes and calamities. But happier times succeeded; and the period of an hundred and nine years that elapsed between the flight of the Persians and the conquest of Cyrené by the first Ptolemy, is brightened alike by the prosperity and patriotism of its citizens. Their territories were enlarged; their commerce was extended; and their populousness flourished through native vigour, without any dangerous accessions from the mother-country. During the same century, corresponding nearly with the fourth before the Christian æra, Cyrené produced men illustrious in arts as well as arms, and sustained honourable competitions at the Olympic games in accomplishments then exclusively characteristic of Greeks, and their noblest pre-eminence. It would be an invaluable record that should inform us how the institutions of Demonax the Arcadian were upheld and modified so as to produce such happy results. The five cities of Cyrenaica, which conferred on it the name of Pentapolis, should seem to have constituted a confederacy resembling that of the Lycians; arranged with such justice and wisdom, as reconciled the interests of the whole with the pretensions of its component members.[69]

Enlargement of its

In the time of Herodotus, who gave the last

[68] Schol. in Pindar. Ode 1. Pyth.

[69] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 664, 665. Comp. my translation of Aristotle's Politics, vol. ii. p. 77. et seq. 3d edit.

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territory. — Philænian altars.

corrections to his history four hundred and eight years before the Christian æra, Cyrenaica extended westward from its capital only a hundred and forty miles along the African coast. But shortly afterwards, a memorable transaction proves that its boundary, in the same direction, had been advanced to the inmost recess of the great Syrtis; and its territory thereby nearly doubled in extent, though not proportionally increased in value. The transaction to which I allude appeared of such importance to a great historian, that he suspends the course of his splendid narrative in order to record it.[70]. The height of Cyrenean prosperity coincided with the most flourishing ages of Carthage, before the Carthaginians had been assailed by Agathocles of Sicily, and their finest provinces plundered and desolated by that merciless invader.[71] During this period, Egypt having sadly degenerated under the barbarous yoke of Persia, Carthage was the only power in Africa that could alarm the walled cities of the Pentapolis. Discord arose between nations unfriendly by blood and neighbourhood, competitors for conquest, and rivals in commerce. But the only particular in the war that has come down to posterity, is the memorable incident by which it terminated. This was the adjustment of their common boundary by two Carthaginian youths, the brothers

[70] Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin.

[71] This expedition will be related circumstantially hereafter. It happened 309 years before Christ, and 55 years before the first war between Carthage and Rome.

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Philæni, and two young Cyrenians. It is not clearly explained by what arrangements between the rival states their respective citizens were to set out, at the same time, and from assigned places, so that the spot where they met might be regarded in future as their mutual frontier. They met at the south-eastern extremity of the great Syrtis, where a branch of that gulph penetrates the deepest inland. The Cyrenians, thinking that they had not reached a sufficient distance to satisfy the expectation of their country, complained that the Carthaginians had taken their departure before the stipulated time. The latter denied the accusation; but offered to embrace any just and equal expedient by which the contest might be decided. Then said the Cyrenians, "Allow yourselves to be here buried alive amidst these sands, since we are ready to accept that condition for the sake of extending the limits of our country." The Carthaginians consented, and met death in its most frightful form.[72] Huge mounds of earth[73] composed what were thenceforward called the Philænian altars; unperishing memorials of those who offered, as well as of those who accepted the patriotic alternative.

Description of the Pentapolis — Hesperis.

The enlargement of Cyrenaica to the Philænian altars westward, and eastward to the mountainous Catabathmus, which overlooked the sandy deserts of Marmarica, added far less to the public prosperity, than the high agricultural improve-

[72] Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin. [73] Plin. l. v. c. 4.

ments of the central district. This consisted of a soft and rich soil; it was well watered throughout; it abounded in shady woods and flowery fields; and it afforded in great variety the most useful plants and animals.[74] Its limits were defined by the production of silphium: this plant marked the region of fertility; and where silphium ceased to grow, the soil was unfit for culture. This general notice, from an author of the highest credit[75], is rendered special and satisfactory by the information of Herodotus, that the silphium was confined to the territory between Platæa and the mouth of the great Syrtis[76]; a direct inland journey of only two hundred miles, but far more considerable along the winding coast. The distance exactly corresponds with that between Platæa and the city called Berenicé, now Bernic, in whose neighbourhood concurring testimonies place the far-famed gardens of the Hesperides; for Berenicé was a new name borrowed from the celebrated Egyptian queen, wife to the first Ptolemy, the conqueror of Cyrené, and bestowed on the ancient Hesperis, the most southern city of the confederacy on the immediate frontier of the desert.[77] Here, instead of level sands and unvaried sterility, the ground first began to swell into gentle elevations, to wave with woods, and

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[74] Strabo, l. xviii. p. 836. [75] Arrian, Ind. Hist. cap. ult.
[76] Herodot. l iv. c. 170. & 191.
[77] Pliny places the Hesperides near Lixos in Mauritania, but changes this opinion in speaking of Berenicé. Conf. Plin. l. v. c. 1. & 5.

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to be refreshed by fountains. Contrast between such scenery and the dreary desolation in its neighbourhood, procured an early celebrity for Hesperis, above other districts of Cyrenaica. In the fables of the poets, which are often histories in disguise, Hercules was celebrated for conveying from thence the golden apples; and if citrons and oranges are denoted by that name[78], the enterprise well accorded with the beneficent views of a hero who surmounted every danger to transplant the wild olive into Greece.[79]

Taucheira, north of Hesperis, changed its name to Arsinoë, from the daughter of the above-mentioned Ptolemy Soter; but the ancient appellation revived, and prevails to the present day. Both Hesperis and Taucheira were seaports; but Cyrené and Barca, of which the former was fourscore miles north-east of Hesperis, and the latter midway between them, were respectively distant from the coast about twelve miles; and Cyrené, the mother and the queen of all these cities, being situate on a lofty terrace, displayed its glittering towers to distant vessels, as they made for its spacious bay and convenient harbour. Apollonia, the harbour of Cyrené, appears not to have been politically distinguished from the city itself; but the port

[78] Κιτρον καλεισθαι παρα τοις Λιβυσι μηλον Ἑσπερικον, αφ' ὠν και Ηρακλεα κομισαι εις την Ελλαδα τα χρυσεα, δια την ιδεαν, λεγομενα μηλα. "Citrons were called Hesperian apples among the Libyans, from whom Hercules carried into Greece the apples we name golden from their appearance." Juba apud Athenæum, l. iii. p. 83.

[79] Pind. Olymp. Ode 3.

of Barca, called Ptolemais, must have formed a community apart, since it completed the confederacy of the Pentapolis; a confederacy whose decayed members in the form of towns or villages subsist to the present day under the nearly unaltered names of Kurin, Barca, Bernic, Taukeira, and Tollemata.[80]

Its commerce with the interior of Africa.

While the Cyrenians extended and embellished their territories, they neglected not the primary objects of their establishment. Commerce, both by land and sea, was cultivated assiduously and boldly. Their harbours were crowded with merchantmen, chiefly Greeks; and their inland possessions extended to the region of dates, whose inhabitants have been in all ages the greatest travelling merchants in the world, if greatness is to be measured by fatigue and danger. It must be impossible from the nature of the thing to ascertain the ever-flitting limits of the Nomades that skirted the dominions of Carthage and Cyrené; the Nasamones, celebrated for their enterprise and prowess[81]; the Psylli, universally renowned for their power over serpents[82], although that power is variously ascribed to nature[83], to art[84], and to magic[85]: and the Garamantes, whose character is so dif-

[80] Shaw's Travels. Conf. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 837. et seq.
[81] Herodot. l. iv. c. 172.
[82] Lucan, Pharsal. l. ix. v. 897. Plin. l. vii. c. 2.
[83] Lucan, ibid. & Solin. c. 27.
[84] Aristot. Histor. Animal. & Scylax, Peripl.
[85] Plutarch in Caton Utic.

Somniculosum ut Pœnus aspidem Psyllus.
Helvius Cinna apud A. Gell. ix. 12.

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ferently painted by Herodotus[86], that he may be conjectured to speak of two distinct nations, confounded through some error under one name. Among all these tribes, necessity gave birth to well-appointed caravans, by means of which only, it was possible to penetrate the desert, and procure those rich commodities of southern Africa, which were purchased with emulation on the Cyrenean and Carthaginian shores. The desert, which at first sight seemed to oppose invincible barriers to this traffic, on the contrary promoted it, by the attractive influence of many springs of salt water, forming innumerable saline hills interspersed at convenient distances between its eastern and western extremity.[87] As salt is entirely wanting in Ethiopia, or Nigritia, in the largest extent of these names, the southern Africans had to seek it in the Sahara, and to meet, as it were, half-way the Libyans who came in quest of gold, and the articles of ebony, ivory, and slaves, then deemed as indispensable to luxury as salt is to nature. When Africa is accurately explored, we shall be able to ascertain the routes which Herodotus slightly traces from the neighbourhood of Carthage and Cyrené to Egypt in one direction, and to the nations south of the desert in another. From the confines of the Lesser Syrtis, we shall pursue his fifty days' journey to mount Atlas; and pro-

[86] Conf. Herodot. l. iv. c. 174. & c. 183. The Garamantes are proved by Major Rennell to be the people of Fezzan. Geog. of Herodot. p. 615. et seq.

[87] Herodot. l. iv. c. 185. et seq.

ceeding southward from that mountain to the present empire of Morocco, traverse the broadest part of the desert, the frightful Zanhaga, to vast salt-mines wrought by the hand of man, clearly distinguishable from the saline springs and huge granulous hills of salt in other parts of Africa, since they consisted of hard mineral rocks, of which the miners built for their accommodation durable houses[88] in that region of eternal drought. Similar mines and in a like situation are described by Leo[89] at Tecazza, twenty days' journey due west of Tombuctoo: which latter place appears, from the latest researches, to be the principal and most remarkable town in the interior of Africa.[90] CHAP. III.

Its arts and productions.

Among the commodities calculated to bear the longest transportation by land, the Cyrenians drew from Southern Africa, agates[91], amethysts, and a variety of other gems, several of which, exquisitely engraved, will attest to the latest posterity the ingenuity and taste of this African commonwealth four centuries before the Christian æra. The universal passion of the citizens for this kind of ornament, excited the emulation of artists, and wonderfully improved their skill.[92] The poorest Cyrenian would give the value of thirty guineas for a ring or seal. From the carving of precious stones, there was an easy transition to the cast-

[88] Herodot. l. iv. c. 185.
[89] Leo, African. p. 225. et seq.
[90] African Researches, 1799, p. 131.
[91] Καρχηδονιοι λιθοι, a kind of agate. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 835.
[92] Ælian, Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 30.

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ing of medals with the most beautiful designs, particularly the small Cyrenean medals of fine gold, requiring the assistance of glasses to read their inscriptions and perceive the admirable delicacy of their workmanship. On these gems and medals we frequently meet with the silphium, a *rosaceous* shrub of sweet fragrancy, which, though it grew in Persia, Media, and the Indian Paropamisus, was of such superior excellency [93] in the Cyrenaica, that "the silphium of Battus" was proverbial in antiquity to denote whatever was most precious. [94] The silphium is an annual plant; its juice, obtained by incision from the trunk and stem, was in universal request among the credulous for the purposes of medicine, and among the luxurious for those of cookery. The Greeks bought it for its weight in silver, deeming it of indispensable use in alleviating disease and gladdening festivity. The rancorous disputes of critics [95] have involved in needless obscurity the subject of silphium, which is still found [96] in the neighbourhood of Derna between the isle of

[93] Dioscorid. l. iii. c. 97. Conf. Arrian, Ind. Hist. c. ult.

[94] Ουδ' αν ει δοιης γε μοι τον Πλουτον αυτον, και το Βαττου σιλφιον. "No! not, should you give me the god of riches himself, and the silphium of Battus." Aristophanes. — Compare Hesychius Βαττου σιλφιον· παροιμια επι των τας υπερβαλλουσας τιμας ευρισκομενων· adding that the silphium was of such high estimation among the Cyrenians, that they stamped their coins with the silphium on one side, and with Jupiter Hammon on the other.

[95] Bentley and others would prove the fragrant silphium to be Assafœtida.

[96] See Memoir of M. le Maire, French consul in Tripoli in 1706, cited in Memoire de l'Academie, v. xxxvi. p. 24.

Platæa and the modern Kurin. It abounded far more, indeed, during the flourishing ages of the Cyrenean confederacy, and the more plentiful it was, the more vigilantly did the Cyrenians watch its exportation, on which they should seem to have imposed a prohibitory duty. The Carthaginians certainly carried on a contraband trade for silphium from their nearest harbour Charax, on the Great Syrtis, a little eastward of the tower Euphrantas. To Charax, the Carthaginians sent wine and the produce of their manufactures, and brought from thence Cyrenean oil and unguents, various kinds of fruits, flowers of a peculiar hue and fragrancy[97], above all, the silphium, carried clandestinely to Charax by Cyrenean smugglers.[98]

Dissensions between rich and poor. Olymp. xcv. 1. B.C. 400.

The Cyrenians had the means of happiness, but knew not how to enjoy them. Four hundred years before Christ[99], their republic was disturbed by a sedition originating in the ordinary dissensions between rich and poor in the Greek commonwealths. About this time probably they applied to Plato, justly provoked at the Athenians for the judicial murder of Socrates, to visit their country and assist in its legislation. He is said to have declined this honourable office, by frankly declaring that their circumstances were too prosperous to bear

[97] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. iv. c. 3. & Athenæus, l. xv.

[98] Των εκ κυρηνης λαθρα κομιζοντων. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 836.

[99] Diodorus places this event. Olymp. xciv. 4. B. C. 401. Diodorus, l. xiv. s. 34.

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the restraint of salutary laws.[100] Under such institutions, therefore, as their condition admitted, they continued to live for fourscore years afterwards, until shortly before the death of Alexander, the confederacy of the Pentapolis was involved in such tumults as finally terminated in its complete subjection under his first Egyptian successor.

Cyrené invaded by Thimbron. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

In a former work we have seen Harpalus, financial administrator in Babylon, after he had incurred the resentment of his generous master by ill government and profligacy, escape into Greece with five thousand talents and six thousand mercenaries.[101] Banished from Athens through the terror with which Alexander's name filled that and neighbouring commonwealths, he sailed with his troops and part of his treasures to Crete[102], where, as that island is directly opposite to Cyrenaica, he might seasonably avail himself of the troubles in the latter, to form an establishment on the African coast. But the traitor, Harpalus, was perfidiously slain in the isle of Crete by his associate Thimbron, who succeeded to his resources and projects.[103] Thimbron, with a numerous fleet, sailed for the Cyrenaica, where the Grecian confederacy was weakened by disunion, and the principal city in the league torn by intestine discord. His veteran army, seven thousand strong, had been

[100] Plutarch in Lucull. p. 492.

[101] History of Ancient Greece, vol. iv. c. 29.

[102] Diodorus, l. xvii. s. 108.

[103] Id. ibid. Conf. Plutarch. in Demosth. and Phocion.

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reinforced in Crete by a large body of Cyrenean exiles, breathing resentment against their country. Under these guides, Thimbron effected a descent; vanquished the Cyrenians in a battle where many of them fell, and many were made prisoners; gained possession of their harbour Apollonia, and having successfully assaulted, was prepared to sack their capital. In this state of affairs, the Cyrenians requested and obtained a suspension of hostilities. To ransom the place from military execution, Thimbron demanded from its magistrates a large sum of money, and one half their chariots of war; at the same time sending embassies to the subordinate cities of the confederacy, offering to them his friendship, upon condition that they assisted him with troops against the neighbouring Libyans. The Cyrenean magistrates paid part of the contribution, and professed readiness to comply with the full extent of Thimbron's demands. Barca and Hesperis also accepted his proposals, Ptolemais the port of Barca imitated the submission of that city. The inconsiderable republic of Taucheira alone seemed anxious to defend its freedom. [104]

Thimbron betrayed by Mnasicles.

When the affairs of Thimbron were in this prosperous state, his rash and unprincipled rapacity prepared for him a sudden reverse of fortune. Having plundered the merchantmen and magazines in Apollonia, in his division of the booty he offended Mnasicles, a

[104] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 19. et seq.

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man of nearly equal weight with himself in the army; by birth a Cretan, through long experience a skilful captain, and uniting great personal courage with all the wiles of his country. Through the defection of Mnasicles to the Cyrenians, a new spirit was inspired into the vanquished. They recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the suddenness and boldness of the descent; placed their city in a posture of defence; and refused to pay the remainder of the contribution due by them. To chastise their breach of faith, Thimbron seized part of their citizens, who had unwarily remained in Apollonia; and, reinforced by auxiliaries from Barca and Hesperis, again besieged Cyrené. But his success was far different from what he had formerly experienced. Unable to make any impression on the walls, he retired with his baffled army to Apollonia. The Cyrenians, not contented with deliverance from danger, retaliated the hostilities of Barca and Hesperis, by ravaging and almost desolating the nearest territories of these states. Thimbron sailed with the greatest part of his troops to the assistance of his allies, leaving Apollonia unguarded. The watchful Mnasicles ably availed himself of this error. With a handful of Cyrenians, he recovered their lost harbour of Apollonia, and the rich magazines contained in it, which were faithfully restored to their rightful owners. He then fortified its entrances so skilfully against Thimbron's ships, that they were thenceforth totally excluded, on that side,

from all communication with the country, by means of which chiefly they had hitherto supplied their wants.[105] Meanwhile Thimbron, after protecting the territories of his allies, overcame the obstinacy of Taucheira, the smallest city in the Pentapolis, but which, being united in itself, had the most manfully resisted his invasion. His advantages, however, in this quarter did not compensate for the loss of Apollonia, since his ships upon their return northward, being baffled in all attempts to enter that harbour, were obliged to land dispersedly on the adjacent coasts; and their crews being thus assailed in straggling parties, were either put to the sword, or compelled hastily to embark in such stormy weather that they were driven on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. Upon this disaster Thimbron was on the point of abandoning his enterprise, when his courage was revived by a reinforcement of nearly three thousand troops from Peloponnesus. These were a new swarm of Greek mercenaries, who had rendezvoused at the promontory of Tenarus, to whom Thimbron, on his first reverse of fortune, had sent proper agents to engage them in his service. Their seasonable arrival encouraged him to risk a battle with the Cyrenians, who, in the progress of the war, had greatly augmented their domestic army by auxiliaries from Libya and even Carthage, a republic long hostile to Cyrené, but now more jealous of Thimbron and his mer-

[105] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 20.

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cenaries, who had served under Alexander. The whole of their forces amounted to thirty thousand combatants; infantry, cavalry, and chariots of war fighting after the fashion of the heroic ages. This ill-composed army was defeated with great slaughter; its officers were all slain; and such Cyrenians as escaped from the battle were cooped up within their walls, to which Thimbron for the third time laid siege. Their sufferings exasperated those political factions in which all their evils had originated. The nobles and more opulent citizens who wished to capitulate were expelled by the people. One part of them sought refuge with Thimbron, another sailed to Egypt to request the assistance of Ptolemy.[106]

Thimbron made prisoner, and the Cyrenians reduced by Ptolemy's general Ophellas. Olymp. cxiv. 2. B. C. 323.

That sagacious prince, who had strongly fortified his province by walls, troops, treasures, above all, by the grateful affection of his Egyptian subjects, perceived the fair opportunity of extending his dominion over a contiguous and wealthy coast. With the utmost expedition he prepared a fleet and army, entrusting both to Ophellas, his companion in arms under the great Alexander. Ophellas landed on the coast before the complete reduction of the Cyrenians; and his arrival produced very surprising changes in their contending factions. The rich and noble, who had previously fled to Thimbron's camp, endeavoured secretly in the night to join Ophellas. Their design was discovered, and they were cruelly massacred. The popular

[106] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 20.

party, on the other hand, rather than surrender their liberties to Ophellas and their fellow-citizens who accompanied him, resolved to make peace with Thimbron, whom they had recently opposed with obstinate valour; and zealously aided him in resisting the new and more formidable invasion from Egypt. But their united strength was crushed by the powerful armament which Ptolemy had sent against them. Thimbron's army was destroyed, and himself made prisoner. Cyrené was besieged, taken, and garrisoned; the subordinate cities in the confederacy shared the same fate.[107] CHAP. III.

Such was the termination of the Greek commonwealths in Africa, which had defied the ferocity of the Libyans, resisted the more disciplined valour of Carthage, and repelled the strength of Egypt under her ancient kings. But as the submission of the Cyrenaica was reluctant, we shall see that country in the sequel frequently the scene of rebellion. It remained, however, for upwards of two centuries an appendage to the Greek kingdom in Egypt; and was governed, for the most part, by sons or younger brothers of the Ptolemies. Apion, its last *viceroy*, son to the Seventh Ptolemy, amidst the civil wars in Egypt assumed independent sovereignty; and, ninety-seven years before Christ, bequeathed his usurped kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans[108], by whom it was conjoined, about thirty years afterwards, with the neighbouring isle of Crete in the form of a province.[109] Subsequent history of Cyrené, to Olymp. clxxi. 1. B. C. 96.

[107] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 21. and Strabo, l. xvii. p. 836.
[108] Appian, Mithridat. cap. 121. [109] Plutarch in Lucull.

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Ptolemy declines the Protectorship. — Funeral Procession of Alexander. — Aridæus and Python Protectors. — Sedition excited by Euridicé. — Resignation of the Protectors. — Antipater sole Regent. — Abandonment of Alexander's great Undertakings. — New Division of the Provinces. — Antigonus sent against Eumenes. — War in Pisidia. — Ptolemy conquers Syria. — Death and Character of Antipater. — Polysperchon Regent. — Opposition of Cassander. — His Intrigues with Antigonus. — The Regent endangered on all Sides. — He employs Eumenes against Antigonus. — Recalls Olympias from Epirus. — Issues an Edict for restoring Democracy throughout Greece. — Phocion's Accusation and Execution. — Battle of Byzantium. — Athens surrenders to Cassander. — Is governed by Demetrius Phalereus. — Murder of Arrhidæus and Euridicé. — Trial and Execution of Olympias. — Cassander rebuilds Thebes.

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Ptolemy gains the army of Perdiccas. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

THE conquest of Cyrené, through his general Ophellas, was but a prelude to the glory which Ptolemy gained in person, by his skilful defence of Egypt against Perdiccas, commanding the royal army of Alexander, till then unfoiled in any combat. The disasters of that army in the neighbourhood of Memphis, occasioned, as we have shewn, sedition among the soldiers, and a conspiracy of the officers, which ended in the murder of Perdiccas. Of this emergency, Ptolemy availed himself with equal dexterity and bold-

ness. Upon the day following his adversary's death, he came unguarded to the hostile camp, addressed the soldiers as countrymen and old companions in arms, embraced affectionately their commanders as his dearest personal friends. His camels and waggons then made their appearance, loaded with all sorts of necessaries for men, who, having undergone incredible hardships, were invited to a peaceful entertainment instead of being challenged to a new battle.[1] By this pleasing transition they were filled with transports of joy and of gratitude. They saw no motive in Ptolemy but a concern for their happiness. Neither Python nor Seleucus, who were present, nor Antipater and Antigonus, who were shortly expected, nor any other of their admired commanders, could bear a competition in their affections with the brave and generous satrap of Egypt. Through the admiring acclamations of the multitude, he was encouraged to assume the envied title of protector of the kings and of the empire. But he prudently declined an insecure and anxious office, which must have withdrawn him from the government of his flourishing province; recommending however to this high dignity a friend and benefactor, who, a few months before Perdiccas's hostile invasion, had marched to Egypt on a very different errand.

He refuses the protectorship, and recommends Aridæus.

By the same assembly which fixed the regency, and regulated the succession, the funeral honours

Merit of the latter in con-

[1] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 36. & Arrian apud Phot. p. 221.

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ducting the funeral procession of Alexander;

of Alexander were entrusted to Aridæus[2], an officer in high credit with the phalanx, who employed nearly two years in preparations for this august solemnity. To convey the embalmed remains of the king from his palace in Babylon to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, where he had expressed a desire to be interred, Aridæus had provided a colossal chariot thirty-eight feet high, fourteen in breadth, and twenty-two in length, drawn on four wheels, by sixty-four mules of conspicuous beauty; and uniting in its decorations and design the rich magnificence of the East, with the taste of Ionia, and the ingenuity of Athens. The golden canopy breathing precious perfumes, the golden throne supporting the arms of Alexander, and the burnished gold which composed its resplendent peristyle, formed but vulgar ornaments in a pageant variegated with oriental gems, profusely studding even the collars of the mules. Painting and sculpture, arts highly indebted to the discerning munificence of Alexander, outshone the rubies of Asia, while they represented, with impressive energy, the unrivalled series of his victories; and the perfection of more useful arts which he had so zealously encouraged, was displayed in the gorgeous vehicle[3] itself, whose suspension on a flexible spring, that humoured every inequality

[2] From similarity of name, this general is confounded with king *Arrhidæus*, for so the name is uniformly written by Plutarch in Alexand. Arrian, and Diodorus. The Latin writers, Curtius and Justin, write the king's name Aridæus, making it the same with the general's, which has caused the very general error of uniting into one person two men of most dissimilar characters.

[3] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 26—28. and Arrian apud Phot. p. 230.

of surface, so as to retain the foliated diadem crowning the canopy, in the same horizontal position, will be more readily admired than imitated or even explained by our most skilful machinists.[4] By whatever means the exact equilibrium was preserved, and sixty-four mules were made to act in concert upon such an enormous weight, this moving mausoleum was safely transported nine hundred miles from Babylon to Memphis, and thence to Alexandria.[5]

Why Alexander's successors disobeyed his last will, concerning his burial.

In disregarding Alexander's injunctions for burying him in the temple of Hammon, his successors were unanimous; but this seeming disobedience was really more respectful than would have been the most implicit submission. Shortly after his demise, a prophecy was circulated and believed, that the country which received his remains should surpass all other kingdoms of the earth in splendour and prosperity.[6] Each provincial governor wished to become the depositary of so valuable a treasure; while Perdiccas, himself a native of Pella, and who hoped soon to reign in that capital, insisted with much vehemence that the bones of Alexander ought to repose near those of his fathers in Macedon. But Aridæus, who had been entrusted with a body of troops to escort the funeral convoy, persevered

[4] Such is the opinion of Count Caylus, who, in the xxxvith vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles Lettres, has given the plan, elevation, and section of this wonderful car. His ingenious dissertation is disgraced by the error of confounding Aridæus, an enterprising officer, its contriver and conductor, with king Arrhidæus, the feeble-minded brother of Alexander.

[5] Pausanias, Attic. c. 6, 7. [6] Ælian, V. H. l. xii. c. 64.

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inflexibly in his duty, and was proceeding through Syria in his way to Hammon, when he was respectfully met by Ptolemy, whose entreaties proved more effectual than all the threats of his rivals[7]; and prevailed with the conductor of the procession, to make Memphis, and not Hammon, his goal.

Important consequences of his interment at Alexandria.

From Memphis, the precious relicts of the king were shortly transported to the new Egyptian capital. There, Alexander was worshipped in a lofty temple, long bearing his name, with such ceremonies and sacrifices, as the superstition of Greece had appropriated to departed heroes in the cities which they had founded.[8] The consecrated grove surrounding the temple was distinguished by the magnificence of its games and festivals. Allured by these favourite entertainments, by the commercial advantages of the city and country, above all, by the perfect security enjoyed under Ptolemy's administration, multitudes of new inhabitants resorted from all quarters to Egypt. Alexandria became the seat of industry and wealth, of ingenuity and learning. Instead of a provincial city, it gradually assumed the appearance of an imperial metropolis; and Egypt eventually derived from the policy of Ptolemy Soter, and the concurrence of Aridæus in his views, more substantial benefits than could have accrued to that kingdom from a long series of triumphs.[9]

[7] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 28. and Arrian, ibid.

[8] Ibid. l. xx. s. 102. Conf. Dio. Chrysostom, Orat. l. xxxiii. p. 408.

[9] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 28.

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To requite a favour, whose value the sagacity of Ptolemy enabled him duly to appreciate, he recommended Aridæus, together with Python, who had the principal share in the ruin of Perdiccas, as joint protectors of the empire. The soldiers provisionally ratified this nomination until the arrival of Antipater[10]; and the persons thus exalted to the highest situations in the state and army, listened only to the suggestions of ambition, and accepted with eager delight the dangerous dignities conferred on them.

Python joined with Aridæus in the protectorship.

Meanwhile, news reached the camp, that Eumenes had gained a great victory in Lesser Asia; and that Craterus, his ablest antagonist, was slain. Had this intelligence arrived two days sooner, it would have had a tendency to disarm the conspirators against Perdiccas. The effect which it now produced, was only to exasperate the soldiers against the abettors of that tyrant. All his friends within their reach suffered instant death[11]; not excepting his sister Atalanta, wife to Attalus, then commanding his fleet.

Violent proceedings of the army upon learning the death of Craterus. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

Attalus, upon learning the sad amount of public and private calamity, sailed from Pelusium to Tyre. From thence he continued his voyage to the coast of Caria, purposing to wrest that province from Asander, the boldest enemy of Perdiccas's party in Lesser Asia; but in a sea-fight with the new republic of the Rhodians, he met

The Macedonian fleet taken or destroyed by the Rhodians.

[10] Arrian, p. 221.

[11] Plutarch in Eumen. and Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 37.

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with a defeat so complete and so disastrous[12], that the great fleet laboriously equipped by Alexander, on the coasts of the Asiatic peninsula and Syria, thenceforward disappears from history. Demaratus, a Rhodian, commanded in this naval engagement, which secured the newly recovered liberty of his country, and thereby laid the foundation of its future glory.[13]

The authority of the protectors set at defiance by Eurídicé. —Her character and motives.

Meanwhile, the army under Python and Aridæus marched from Egypt towards Syria, in order to carry into execution a hasty military decree, passed against the adherents of Perdiccas; fifty of whom had been specified by name. At the head of the proscribed were Eumenes and Alcetas; the former, since his victory over Craterus, commanding the finest provinces of Lesser Asia; the latter, brother to Perdiccas, and by his dexterity in gaining the Pisidian mountaineers, holding an unbounded authority over the rougher parts of that peninsula. The Macedonians had not proceeded far on their march when the protectors discovered, that besides the public delinquents whom they must first vanquish before they could punish them, other dangerous foes to their authority lurked in the bosom of the army itself. In the debate concerning Alexander's succession, Python had warmly opposed the partisans of Arrhidæus; and when that prince was declared king, had boldly expressed his indignation, "that in

[12] Arrian, p. 226. Photius has probably extracted imperfectly, since the words are only Κρατερως αποκρυσθησαν.

[13] Arrian, ibid.

seeking an heir to the crown, the *family* of Alexander should have been preferred to his virtues.[14] Neither the opposition itself, nor this contumelious expression with which it was accompanied, could ruffle the unfeeling serenity of king Arrhidæus; but the insult sank deep into the mind of Euridicé, whose character was directly the reverse of her husband's. While Perdiccas held the regency, her mutinous spirit had been overawed; but now, that an inferior man, and the object of her personal resentment, exercised that pre-eminent function, she made every exertion to lessen his power, and disturb his government. Through the popular arts with which she well knew how to operate on the rude military mind, Python, and his colleague Aridæus, saw their authority fast declining with the army. They complained, remonstrated, and bitterly reproved the indecorous interference of a woman in matters, by the consent of all nations, exclusively appropriated to men. But in the various altercations respecting pay, preferment, and other military objects; the opinion of Euridicé was still a law with the troops.

In consequence of their resignation Alexander's army commanded by a woman.

The pride of Python and Aridæus could no longer brook such accumulation of disgrace; and whether they really purposed to resign the name of an office, of which another exercised the whole power; or whether they hoped, by a striking solemnity, to recall the soldiers to a sense of duty, they came to the extraordinary resolu-

[14] Curtius, l. x. c. 7.

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tion of publicly abdicating the regency.[15] This ceremony was performed at Trisparadisus, a town in Upper Syria[16]: such was the influence of the queen, that it passed without exciting in the army either repentance or regret; and, wonderful to relate! the soldiers of Alexander were commanded by a woman, when Antipater, by hasty marches, reached the royal camp.

Sedition on the arrival of Antipater.

That wary general had not advanced with sufficient celerity to assist Ptolemy against Perdiccas. It may indeed be suspected, that a man grown old in the arts of war and policy, was not displeased to see his rivals exhausting each other by mutual hostilities, while he himself stood aloof ready to profit by their misfortunes. Being informed by his emissaries of the late transactions at Trisparadisus, he hastened to that place, hoping that his authority with the army would compose all dissensions: But instead of a calm, his arrival produced a new and more dangerous storm. Notwithstanding the reverence in which he was held by the officers and most of the cavalry, Euridicé remained paramount with the veteran phalanx of Alexander, and the silver-shielded *hyspaspists*, ready and licentious instruments in every tumult. She was heard with patience, while she opposed the establishment of any regency: and maintained, what her blindest partisans well knew that she did not believe, the

[15] Arrian and Diodorus.

[16] Την ανω Συριαν, Syria, beyond the Orontes, extending towards Cilicia. The town is called Paradisus by Ptolemy, v. 15. and Pliny, v. 23.

competency of her husband Arrhidæus to manage the state and army; while Antipater, in endeavouring to appease the sedition, and overawe her boldness, narrowly escaped falling a victim to the enraged soldiery. He was saved through the intrepidity of Antigonus and Seleucus, who hastening through the ranks in their resplendent armour, and haranguing the men on subjects the most interesting to their passions, afforded an opportunity for Antipater to escape across a bridge, separating the main army from the division with which he had recently joined it. [17]

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His danger.

The disorder of the troops, thus carried to the utmost extreme, had a tendency to cure itself. Perceiving that they had nearly imbrued their hands in the blood of an aged and able commander, who, of all men living, was the best qualified to conduct them victoriously to their longed-for country, they felt compunction at their own proceedings, and joined with men of sounder minds, in recalling Antipater to the supreme command. He obeyed the general summons; and in publicly assuming his office, exposed the character and views of Euridicé in so odious a light, that, high-minded as she was, fear silenced her other passions, and removed her farther opposition. [18]

Repentance of the soldiers who call him to the regency.

Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

The elevation of Antipater to the regency, afforded a fairer prospect of happiness than the

Circumstances unfavourable

[17] Arrian, p. 222. Polyænus, l. iv. c. 6. ascribes the safety of Antipater to Antigonus only.

[18] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 38, 39. and Arrian, p. 221.

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to his administration — his old variance with Eumenes.

empire had hitherto enjoyed. The unblemished dignity of his character, and his long and prosperous exercise of delegated power in Macedon, promised an administration equally prudent and vigorous; unclogged by competition, undisturbed by envy. Yet, besides his advanced age, for he was now in his seventy-seventh year [19], various circumstances naturally resulting from his connections and habits, tended to blast the public hope. His contest with Eumenes about the government of the city of Cardia, in the Thracian Chersonesus, produced an irreconcileable enmity with the person best qualified to second his views when useful, or to correct them when pernicious. Eumenes, who was now master of the finest provinces of Lesser Asia, was not of a disposition tamely to resign them to the abettor of his own domestic foes, the little tyrants of Cardia, and who had opposed both his father and himself in their zeal for erecting that state into a commonwealth. [20] As the lieutenant and representative of the murdered Perdiccas, Eumenes prepared to set Antipater at defiance; and thus the party disputes, in the little Greek city of Cardia, embroiled the dissensions in a great empire, and rendered them incurable.

His advanced age and uninterrupted residence in Europe.

Another unfavourable circumstance, disqualifying Antipater for the regency, was his uninterrupted residence in Europe during a long life. He was unacquainted with the affairs of Asia,

[19] Suidas voc. Antipater.

[20] Plutarch in Eumen.

which, in his mind, occupied but a dark and narrow place; while Greece and Macedon, which he had long prosperously governed, shone with a magnified splendour far beyond their comparative importance. Alexander's great projects for improving the central provinces of Asia, for adorning and enriching Babylon the natural seat of empire, and for harmonising into one social and commercial system the greatest nations of the earth; all these designs were abandoned; the new harbours which he was constructing, the new routes for traffic which he was opening, the new and admirable institutions through which in the space of a few years he had disciplined into manhood the most effeminate of slaves, and reclaimed into humanity the most intractable of barbarians. Antipater was contented with appointing governors for the Asiatic provinces; his narrow span of life admitted not of remote plans of melioration; he was solicitous chiefly, that the revenues of Asia should be carefully collected, and regularly transmitted to Macedon; in which country, now the object of his affections, as formerly the scene of his glory, he purposed to spend the remainder of his days, and from thence, in the name of the kings, to issue his imperial mandates for the government of the eastern world.

Alexander's great plans abandoned.

With these views, he proceeded at Triparadisus to make a new settlement of the empire. The feeble Arrhidæus, and Alexander's posthumous son by Roxana, a child three years old, were again declared its sole legitimate heirs.

New distribution of the provinces by Antipater.

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The governments of the several provinces were continued in the officers actually holding them; only Nicanor was substituted to the proscribed Eumenes in the satrapy of Cappadocia. But Eumenes was master of that satrapy, and many districts in its neighbourhood, from which he had expelled his enemies; he appears also to have defeated and destroyed Menander and Philotas, respectively satraps of Lydia and Cilicia; the former of whom, as above related, had first apprised Antipater of the projected marriage of Perdiccas with Cleopatra; and the latter, as we have seen more recently, had allowed an unobstructed march to the European army which came to assist Ptolemy, through the Cilician passes. New governors were therefore to be appointed for those empty provinces; Philoxenus was named for Cilicia; and Lydia, including Ephesus and other Greek seaports on its coast, was bestowed on Clytus, who had successfully commanded the Macedonian fleet during the Lamian war. Seleucus, whose merit had recently been signalised in appeasing the military tumult, was rewarded with the vacant satrapy of Babylonia, the object of eager desire to that young and ambitious chief, who, of all Alexander's lieutenants, best understood the great views of his master. In this distribution of the provinces, it was not to be expected that the interests of the late protectors should be forgotten. Python, to whom Media formerly was assigned, had been hitherto prevented by various important employments from taking possession

of his government. A Mede named Atropates had rendered himself powerful in his native country[21]; of which he was to be dispossessed, only by an armed force. Python was entrusted with a detachment for this purpose; but Atropates still maintained possession of the northern and rougher division, called from him Media Atrapatena; and transmitted it down to a long line of descendants. Aridæus, Python's colleague in the protectorship, was substituted to the government of Hellespontian Phrygia, vacant by the death of Leonnatus in the Lamian war.[22]

Guards appointed for the royal treasuries.

After thus distributing the provinces, Antipater appointed guardians of the treasuries in various strong-holds of the empire, and regulated the proportions of revenue necessary for supporting the dignity of the imperial court, and for maintaining the great controuling army, one part of which was to accompany the persons of the kings, and another to be ready on all occasions to defend the safety of their dominions, and uphold the integrity of the empire. To procure money for immediate exigencies, a strong detachment was commissioned to transport part of the treasures in the fortress of Susa to Lower Asia. This trust was committed to Antigenes, who had done good service in the removal of Perdiccas; and who commanded three thousand silver-shielded hyspaspists, the

[21] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. iv. c. 18.

[22] Arrian apud Phot. p. 25. & Diodor. l. xviii. s. 39.

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most audacious among the late mutineers, of whom Antipater was well pleased to purge the army.[23]

Antipater's want of discernment in appointing his lieutenants.—Causes thereof.

There was nothing amiss in these arrangements; but it still remained to appoint a general for suppressing Eumenes and other enemies to the empire; in naming to which office, Antipater was greatly wanting in the discernment of characters. His defect in this particular may be ascribed to the indolence of age, the unwillingness to alter opinions once formed, and the propensity to view men as they were, when he first examined and appreciated them, rather than such as they had become, through a change of circumstances and of habits. At fourscore, the mind's eye is shut to many avenues of information, which might dart on it new light: through the infirmities of the body, that variety of intercourse and those precious opportunities are intercepted, when men's true characters may be caught in their unguarded moments; and the suspicious severity of age is not calculated to invite from others those discoveries which it is prevented from making by its own observation. In the former part of his life, Antipater had been noted for vigilance and discernment; but in his late removal from Macedon, he had raised to the administration of that kingdom the incapacity and cruelty of Polysperchon; and in appointing a general of the empire in Asia[24], he allowed himself to be blinded by the partiality of private

[23] Id. ibid.

[24] Appian, Syriac. c. 53. calls Antigonus επισκοπος της ολης Ασιας.

friendship[25] to the disloyal ambition of Antigonus. His own son, however, Cassander, a youth already distinguished by abilities equal to vast designs, was set over the *equestrian companions*[26]; a commission which, according to the arrangements of Alexander above explained, made him second in command. Having thus adjusted the great affairs of the empire, Antipater joined part of the Asiatic army to the forces which he had conducted from Macedon, and committed the remainder of it to Antigonus that he might punish the public enemies. In proceeding towards the Grecian sea, expedition was unnecessary. The Macedonian dominions in Europe remained in a state of tranquillity. The Athenians were overawed by the wisdom of Phocion, and the terror of a foreign garrison: the Etolians had been repeatedly defeated in battle; and Menon, the brave Thessalian, an implacable enemy to the Macedonians, had perished obscurely amidst the domestic broils of his country. His daughter, Phthia, was married to Æacidas king of Epirus, and the offspring of this marriage, the renowned Pyrrhus, was to rival the merit, and far eclipse the fame, of his grandfather Menon.

Antipater marches homeward, sending Antigonus to reduce Eumenes.

In marching through the peninsula, Antipater detached a body of troops to enable Asander, governor of Caria, to drive the rebels from Pisidia. This undertaking was unsuccessful; for Alcetas and Attalus, partisans, as we have

Why Eumenes prevented by Cleopatra from fighting Antipater.

[25] See above, Ch. IV.

[26] Arrian and Diodorus, ubi supra.

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seen, of Perdiccas, had been joined by many Macedonians of distinction, dissatisfied with the new settlement of the empire. In consequence of a victory over Asander, these malecontents hoped to maintain their strong-holds in mount Taurus until a happier turn of affairs, without condescending to serve under Eumenes, long the object of their envy. Eumenes, who, besides a large body of well-exercised cavalry, commanded twenty thousand infantry, wished by all means to soothe his personal enemies, who were united with him in one great public interest. Could he have joined their forces to his own, he would have augmented his army by one half its actual number; and would have thus been in a condition to oppose Antigonus in the field. From confidence in his excellent cavalry, he had thoughts of fighting Antipater as he marched through the plain of Sardes. But his design displeased Cleopatra, then resident in the Lydian capital. That princess feared that she had already done too much to provoke the ruling powers. If the battle was fought at Sardes, she would be suspected of occasioning it. She therefore entreated Eumenes to remove from her neighbourhood [27]; and Eumenes shewed complaisance to the sister of his revered master. When Antipater, shortly afterwards, arrived at Sardes, he severely reprimanded Cleopatra for still adhering to the ruined cause of desperate rebels. In her zeal to refute the accusation,

[27] Arrian, p. 225. Conf. Plutarch in Eumen.

many high words passed between them in presence of the army. A reconcilement, however, was effected before the protector left Sardes.[28]

Antigonus's treacherous designs,

Meanwhile Eumenes, after reiterated attempts to gain the co-operation of the Pisidian army, all of which were rendered abortive through the pride and obstinacy of its leaders[29], removed to his proper province of Cappadocia, which the avocations of his antagonists allowed time for placing in a fit posture of defence. It might be expected that Antigonus, in whom crafty selfishness was a predominant quality, would not be forward in taking measures for speedily terminating a war, the continuance of which secured that of his own power. By the same authority which constituted him general, he had been reinstated in his government of Phrygia, to which the smaller districts of Lycia and Pamphylia were annexed. The arrangements necessary in these provinces afforded specious pretences for delay. Antigonus farther protracted the time on the plea of winter-quarters during a hard season, thinking that, should his operations be retarded until Antipater sailed for Europe, he would enjoy a fairer opportunity of profiting by military success. During this interval, his endeavours for gaining the affections of the troops, and even for withdrawing their allegiance from the kings and the protector to fix it on himself personally, escaped not the penetrating eye of Cassander, second in

discovered by Cassandar.

[28] Id. ibid. [29] Plutarch in Eumen.

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command. On pretence of taking leave of his father before he crossed the Hellespont, Cassander hastened to acquaint him, that Antigonus was totally unworthy of the confidence reposed in him. Antipater was unwilling to change his opinion hastily, or to alter the destination that he had made. He therefore allowed time for Antigonus's justification [30]; of which delay the latter, who, according to the ancient proverb, knew better than any man how to eke out the lion's with the fox's skin [31], availed himself to remove many unfavourable suspicions by his assumed moderation and affected complaisance. Yet Antipater required that part of their respective armies should be exchanged. Antigonus, accordingly, received eight thousand five hundred Macedonian infantry, and an equal number of foreign cavalry; he likewise received his proportion of an hundred and forty elephants. [32] With the remainder of the forces, and the persons of the kings, Antipater crossed the Hellespont, not without experiencing at Abydus a new mutiny of the veterans, clamorous for arrears and donatives. [33] They followed, however, their general to Sestos, carrying with them seventy elephants; with part of which Pyrrhus, as we shall see hereafter, combated the Romans. They are the first of those warlike animals noticed in the history of Europe, if we reject the fabulous procession of Bacchus drawn in

Antipater returns to Macedon. — Elephants first brought to Europe.

[30] Arrian, p. 225.
[31] Plutarch in Lysand.
[32] Arrian, p. 225.
[33] Id. ibid.

triumph by Indian elephants to Bœotian Thebes.[34]

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Eumenes defeated by Antigonus;

Antipater had no sooner taken his departure, than Antigonus, finding the career for his own ambition thereby unobstructed, took the field against Eumenes in Cappadocia. Without trusting to the superiority of his troops in quality still more than in number, he had employed means for seducing Apollonides commanding the enemy's cavalry, and other officers who dreaded to commit their new levies with the veteran bands of Macedon. In a decisive battle, the scene of which is not specified, Eumenes was deserted by those traitors. After a great slaughter, his army was put to flight; and Antigonus, in hopes of seizing the person of his adversary, was carried in the pursuit to a wide distance from the field. Eumenes, defeated but not disheartened, availed himself of this circumstance to revisit by a secret path the scene of action, and to raise two funeral piles, of which the materials were collected from neighbouring villages, built entirely of wood. On these lofty pyres, consecrated with due form, he burnt the remains of his slain companions; an exploit which, from the superstitious veneration then prevalent for the manes of the dead, wonderfully delighted his friends, while it astonished and terrified his enemies.[35]

contrives however to inter his slain.

Having lost above eight thousand men in

His dexterity in

[34] Diodor. l. iv. s. 3.

[35] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 40. & Plutarch in Eumen.

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battle, he was unable again to face Antigonus in the field. But the neighbouring intricacies of Taurus, with which he was well acquainted, gave him an opportunity of eluding, and sometimes harassing, his pursuers. In a short time, however, he discovered that as his troops were too few for combat; so they were too numerous for flight. On one occasion, he is said to have deprived them of an opportunity of plundering Antigonus's baggage, which would have rendered them still more unwieldly, by conveying secret intelligence to the officer who escorted it. At length he came to the resolution of disbanding the greater part of his forces, fixing a place of rendezvous, where, at a more favourable crisis, they might again repair to his standard; and with a body of six hundred horse, unalterably devoted to his cause, threw himself into the strong fortress of Nora.[36] Antipater in the extremity of old age had fallen sick immediately upon his return to Macedon.[37] Should his death speedily ensue, Eumenes might expect deliverance from the resentment that persecuted him.

eluding the enemy.

Shuts himself up in Nora.—That fortress described.

The fortress of Nora, judiciously chosen for his retreat, was situate in the south-west corner of Cappadocia, between two arms of the river Halys, and between two branches of Taurus, the northern of which is so lofty that it was said to survey at once the Euxine and Mediterra-

[36] Plutarch, ibid. [37] Suidas voc. Antipater.

nean seas.[38] The whole of the fortified inclosure occupied two furlongs in circuit, with sides exceedingly steep, containing corn, wood, and water; and its defences had been constructed with such solidity by the Cappadocian kings, that their ruins are still discernible at a place called Bour; art thus conspiring with nature to render Nora impregnable.[39]

Antigonus attempts to gain him to his treacherous design.

Antigonus blocked up the place with walls and ditches, but was less solicitous about taking it, than anxious to gain Eumenes for his friend. With such a coadjutor, he would have been in a condition to throw off the mask, and not only to set Antipater at defiance, but every succeeding authority that might rise up in the empire. For attaining ends so desirable, he exhausted all those winning arts, through which, not less than by his great military talents, he had attained his actual elevation. Eumenes, after taking due precautions for the safety of his person, consented to an interview. Antigonus would probably have granted to him the terms which he demanded, reparation for his pecuniary losses, and the restitution of his provinces; had not Eumenes declared, that while possessed of his sword, he never would acknow-

[38] Strabo, l. 12. p. 538. says, that those who had climbed to the top of mount Argæus, who were very few, declared, they had seen at once the Euxine sea and the gulph of Issus, that is, the Mediterranean. They were an hundred miles from that gulph, and two hundred from the Euxine.

[39] Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 811. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 41. and Plutarch in Eumen.

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ledge any superior, except in the family of Alexander. This loyal sentiment terminated the conference: Antigonus only rejoining, that the conditions of the surrender of Nora must be referred to Antipater. Eumenes was then remitted to his fortress, which was again subjected to blockade. [40]

Antigonus defeats the rebels in Pisidia.—His extraordinary march thither.

Immediately after this transaction, Antigonus proceeded to assail the public enemies in Pisidia. His celerity was now as conspicuous, as his tardiness had been blameable, before the return of Antipater to Macedon. In a week's time, he advanced two thousand and five hundred stadia, affording a daily march of thirty-three British miles, which was, and still continues to be, the usual rate of Asiatic couriers. But the Greeks, it must be observed, were not loaded with their heavy armour, except on the near vicinity of an enemy [41]; and the rapidity of Antigonus's march is not inconsistent with experience in as far as two great divisions of his force are concerned, the cavalry and the elephants. By the suddenness of his invasion, he surprised and seized the various passes in Pisidia, through which the enemy might have eluded pursuit, and protracted the war. Alcetas with his associates were forced to a decisive battle at Creton. They were completely defeated. Attalus, Docimus, and Lao-

[40] Diodorus and Plutarch, ibid.

[41] This is expressed by Arrian when he says the army was τεταγμενον ὡς επι μαχην, and Curtius, Arma quæ in sarcinis antea ferebantur, l. v. c. ii.

medon governor of Syria, were made prisoners. Most of the troops laid down their arms; received quarter, and reinforced the conqueror. [42]

Death of Alcetas, Perdiccas's brother.—Singular affection shewn to him by the Pisidians.

Of all the generals Alcetas alone escaped, through the activity of his Pisidian mountaineers, whom, as above related, he had attached unalterably to his person by kind offices. Through their zealous assistance he reached Termessus, the principal city in Pisidia, near the northern frontier of Lycia. Antigonus pursued him thither, assaulted the place, and so much intimidated the magistrates and more aged citizens, that they entered into a secret agreement for betraying to him his adversary. They were reduced to this base measure, because the young and warlike portion of their community was so firmly rivetted in affection to Alcetas, that, as the magistrates assured Antigonus, it would be impossible for themselves to carry their design into execution, unless by a feint retreat after a feeble attack, he should decoy their young men from the city; in which case, they would avail themselves of their absence, to seize the person of Alcetas. The stratagem succeeded partially; for Alcetas avoided captivity by a voluntary death. Antigonus disgracefully insulted the remains of his countryman and fellow-soldier. For this brutality towards their deceased friend, the Pisidians of Termessus vowed against him eternal vengeance; and after the departure of his invading army, celebrated Alcetas's obse-

[42] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 6.

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quies with solemn pomp, scarcely restraining themselves, in revenge for the baseness of their magistrates, from swelling the magnificence of his funeral pile by the conflagration of their own city.[43] Such was the affectionate fidelity of the Termessians, worthy of their ancestors the renowned Solymi, whom Homer celebrates as of old the bravest of men.[44]

Conquest of Syria by Ptolemy. — His motives to that undertaking. Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.

Meanwhile Ptolemy, who had at first confined his sober views to the possession of Egypt, had been encouraged by favourable circumstances to make the conquest of Cyrené. Syria, in its extensive sense, comprehending Palæstine and Phœnicia, offered him a far more tempting prize. Not to mention the near neighbourhood, the fertility, the populousness, and other general advantages of these provinces, Phœnicia still abounded with mariners and well-constructed harbours; the mountains of Palæstine were replenished with useful metals, particularly iron; and Syria Proper, especially the lofty ridges of Libanus and Antilibanus overhanging intricate vales and irriguous plains, produced in great plenty the finest timber. Ptolemy, who had early discerned the channels through which wealth was destined to flow into his country, and begun earnestly to prepare a great naval force, could not fail to cast wishful eyes on the harbours of Phœnicia, and to view with equal avidity the profusion of iron and timber in Palæstine and Syria, articles peculiarly essential

[43] Diodor. l. xvii. s. 47, 48.

[44] Homer, Il. l. vi. v. 184. et seq. Conf. Strabo, p. 631. & 666.

to his plan, and of which his own satrapy of Egypt was altogether destitute. Laomedon, a native of Mytelené in the isle of Lesbos, commanded in Syria, by the appointment of Antipater and the great controuling army. But the forces with which he had been entrusted for defence, were so inconsiderable, that Ptolemy endeavoured to gain him without a struggle to his views. Laomedon rejected rewards and promotions from a man whom he regarded as his equal. He fought, was defeated, and made prisoner, but found means to escape into Pisidia, where he fell into the hands of Antigonus. Syria Proper and Phœnicia submitted to the conqueror.[45]

The Jews alone manfully resist — are indulgently treated.

But amidst the unwarlike tameness of their neighbours, the natives of Palæstine, restrained by their oath recently tendered to Laomedon, manfully resisted the troops which Ptolemy sent against them. He entered their country with a large reinforcement; made an easy conquest of several subordinate towns, but besieged Jerusalem unsuccessfully, till observing the veneration of its inhabitants for the seventh day of the week, he availed himself of this circumstance to assault and take the place on the sabbath. To break the vigour of a nation whose obstinate bravery and love of independence had often been experienced by the conquerors of the East, he carried with him above a hundred thousand Jewish captives into Egypt; consisting

[45] Appian, Syriac. c. 52. & Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 43.

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chiefly of the young and warlike, and of all who were likely to prove dangerous at home, either by their councils or exertions. The inferior classes of men were left to cultivate their fields and vineyards; and were protected in their useful labours without enduring any oppressive imposts. Notwithstanding the great proportion of the people whom he transported to Egypt, Ptolemy's treatment of the Jews was celebrated for its clemency. The nation flourished in domestic peace; and their expatriated countrymen, by their virtuous and manly behaviour, especially their unwearied industry and inviolable fidelity, gained such credit with their new master, that he promoted them to civil offices of the highest trust, or committed to their defence the most important strong-holds in his dominions.[46]

Their high consideration in Egypt.

Death of Antipater. Olymp. cxv. 2. B. C. 319.

Antigonus, if he was not previously informed of Ptolemy's new conquest, must have learned it from the unfortunate Laomedon.[47] About the same time he received intelligence of a different complexion from his agent and flatterer Aristodemus the Milesian; who hastened with a mercenary diligence to announce the death of Antipater, and the accession of the unworthy Polysperchon to the regency. To a man who

Hopes with which

[46] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. et Cont. Apion, l. i. c. 22.

[47] Laomedon must, by some unknown transaction, have offended Antipater or his lieutenant, otherwise he would have joined the latter, as a friend, after his escape from Ptolemy. The small body of troops with which he had been entrusted for defending so important a country as Syria strengthens this conjecture.

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expected to raise his own greatness on the ruins of established authority, the intelligence was most important, for Antipater formed the main obstacle to such towering hopes.

that event inspired Antigonus.

Philip used to say that he could sleep soundly when he knew that Antipater waked; and Alexander marked his character with equal brevity, when, to one who observed, that of all his generals, Antipater alone never wore purple, he replied, "Antipater is all purple within!"[48] The more he was adorned with the virtues of royalty, the less he appeared solicitous about its external trappings. Having long acted the second part under the two greatest monarchs in the world, and being called by public admiration to govern the empire in name of their successors, he had nearly reached his eightieth year in the steady performance of complicated duties towards prince and people. In the nomination of Antigonus as his lieutenant in Asia, and of Polysperchon as his successor in the regency, he was guilty indeed of great and irretrievable errors. But in all preceding transactions, deep sagacity, joined with indefatigable diligence, marked his conduct both as a minister and general: and amidst perpetual scenes of treason and sedition, when the uniform loyalty, and temperate dignity of this able and honest man, are contrasted with the wild extravagance and profligate enterprise of too many of his contemporaries, Antipater should seem to

Character of Antipater.

[48] Plutarch, Apophth.

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have casually dropped, as it were, from the disciplined regularity of some more peaceful age, into the turbulent times in which it was his lot to live. During the exercise of the highest employments that any man in the rank of a subject ever filled, he found leisure to cultivate both letters and science. His long and intimate friendship with the philosopher, Aristotle, continued to the death of the latter, five years before his own; and of Aristotle's testament still remaining[49], he is appointed the executor; such offices to his friends not appearing to his unwearied activity, incompatible with the command of armies and the government of kingdoms. He composed several now lost works of history. Those relating to his own times are the more to be regretted, because they would, doubtless, have rescued his name from that obloquy to which it has been exposed with posterity. For, in future ages, Antipater was for ever to be branded as the murderer of Demosthenes, the blazing patriot, and incomparable orator. So profound are the literary merits, so just and so permanent the glory of Demosthenes, that this single transaction, the punishment of an eloquent rebel, whose life could only have served again to embroil the affairs of Greece, excites more popular resentment against Antipater, than his appointment of such men as Antigonus and Polysperchon to govern the most distinguished portions of Asia and Europe; and

[49] Diogen. Laert. in Aristot.

thus subjecting numerous nations to unprincipled ambition and merciless cruelty. CHAP. IV.

In the worst act of Antipater's life, the recommendation of Polysperchon to the regency, there was an apparent disinterestedness, since he sought for a successor in the commonwealth, rather than in his own family. His son, Cassander, who speedily quitted his uneasy situation in Asia as second in command to Antigonus, had been employed during his father's malady in administering the government of Macedon, and in superintending the turbulent commonwealths of Greece, offices for which he was well qualified by his craft and courage. But being in his twenty-third year, he was not less enterprising in love than in politics, and had successfully courted the high-minded Euridicé, whom, as the mistress of his own affections, he wished to render sole sovereign of the empire; not doubting that, could he procure for her the first place, she would be at no loss how to bestow the second. This intrigue, which had not escaped the notice of Antipater, could not fail greatly to incense him. He knew the pride, and had experienced the boldness of that imperious woman, whose animosity, on an occasion formerly mentioned, had put his life in danger. Her mother Cynna, and her aunt Cleopatra, had both of them disturbed his government. Olympias, above all, had occasioned to him perpetual disquietude, until her reluctant removal to Epirus. From the behaviour of these Macedonian females, equally unprincipled in the gratification of their

Antipater appoints Polysperchon regent — to the prejudice of his own son Cassander. Olymp. cxv. 2. B. C. 319.

Cassander's intrigue with Euridicé.

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fiercer and softer passions, Antipater conceived a general prejudice against the whole sex, which he was at so little pains to conceal, that, as the last injunction to his successor in the regency, he conjured him on no pretence whatever, to permit the interference of women in matters of government, for which they were totally disqualified through the defects both of their talents and of their temper.[50] This advice he well knew would be thrown away on the youth of Cassander; we shall see that it was equally disregarded by the old age of Polysperchon.

Measures for maintaining his power in Europe.

The son of Antipater, who remembered that, as second in command, he had been a mere cypher under the ambitious Antigonus, was not likely to rest contented with a similar condition under Polysperchon. Before the news of his father's death had time to reach Greece, he gave orders to Nicanor, an enterprising officer, recently gained to his interest, to take the command of the Macedonians guarding the harbour of Athens, called Munychia; and he thereby established a new and zealous partisan, in an important strong-hold. When his presence was not required in the army, he resided at his estates in the country; seemingly devoted to hunting and other rural amusements; but much serious business wholly engrossed his thoughts.[51] His old friends were secured: new and useful connections were formed; and having adjusted to his satisfaction the affairs of Greece and Ma-

[50] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11.

[51] Id. l. xviii. s. 49.

cedon, comparatively domestic concerns, he crossed the Hellespont, on pretence of a great hunting match in Phrygia, to solicit foreign co-operation in the designs which he meditated.

He applies to Antigonus in Asia. — Proceedings and views of the latter. Olymp. cxv. 2. B.C. 319.

Of all men, Antigonus was the last to whom, it might be expected, that Cassander would have recourse: yet, so variable are the hatreds as well as the friendships of politicians, that Antigonus was the person from whom he asked and received the most important aid. Upon the death of Antipater, the fortune of his lieutenant in Asia had flowed with such a prosperous tide, that he ventured in several instances to betray very unwarrantable designs. He traversed Asia Minor, seizing fortresses, displacing governors, and raising heavy contributions.[52] Asander, in Caria, and Aridæus, in the Lesser Phrygia, perceived his drift, but were unable to oppose him. They were gradually cooped up within narrow limits; while a harder fate awaited Clytus in the more important province of Lydia. He was entirely dispossessed of the country, and happy to escape with his fleet to Polysperchon. Antigonus then took possession of Ephesus, and when four vessels sailed into its harbour with six hundred talents, detained this sum intended for the immediate service of the kings, saying that he stood in need of it, for the payment of their Asiatic army.[53] Before these disloyal proceedings, he had made a second unsuccessful attempt for gaining the invaluable friendship of Eumenes:

[52] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 51. [53] Id. l. xviii. s. 52.

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a man, who in his quality of stranger, was not likely ever to arrogate to himself the first rank, and who, by his consummate dexterity, was peculiarly well calculated for supporting another in that envied pre-eminence.[54]

His negotiation with Eumenes;

his escape from Nora.

Agreeably to their preceding arrangement, Eumenes had sent his friend Jerom of Cardia to Macedon, with the conditions demanded in return for personal submission, and the surrender of his fortress of Nora. Jerom met with nothing but reproach from Polysperchon; but, on his way back to Nora, was kindly received by Antigonus, who committed to him an instrument granting to Eumenes the full extent of his demands, only requiring him to swear a sincere amity with himself. To Eumenes, who was determined never to acknowledge a superior but in the house of Alexander, a treaty of unconditional friendship with Antigonus, seemed equivalent to an oath of fealty to an usurper. When the writing was tendered to him, he therefore inserted before the word Antigonus, as often as it occurred, the names of the kings and Olympias, stipulating thereby a steady adherence to Antigonus, while that general maintained his fidelity to the royal line. Antigonus's division, which blocked up Nora, readily admitted the insertion; neither the officers nor men having any suspicion of their general's guilty designs. Eumenes seized the favourable moment for recovering his freedom with that of his faithful

[54] Plutarch in Eumen.

adherents. Their horses, being kept in daily exercise in their stables, were nimble for flight; and had already carried them beyond the reach of their enemies, when Antigonus, enraged at receiving a different instrument from that which he had tendered, sent orders to block up Nora more carefully than ever. [55]

Succours afforded by Antigonus to Cassander.

The drift and spirit of all these transactions sufficiently convinced Cassander, that Antigonus would heartily co-operate in destroying the authority of the kings and Polysperchon. He received thirty-five galleys, and four thousand veterans; a succour which Antigonus granted to him, on pretence of gratitude and respect for his deceased father, but really with a view to embroil the affairs of Europe, that thereby, his own career of ambition might be unobstructed in Asia. His well-grounded hopes were completely realised.

Measures adopted by Polysperchon for opposing all his enemies. Olymp. cxv. 3. B.C. 318.

Meanwhile, Polysperchon, alarmed by the defection of Antigonus, the preparations of Cassander, and the high credit of Euridicé with the soldiers, which perpetually disturbed his government, even in Macedon itself, deliberated with his council about means of resisting this three-fold hostility. For opposing Antigonus, fortune seemed seasonably to have presented the fittest of all instruments. While that general betrayed his ambitious designs, Polysperchon learned with a pleasing astonishment, that his folly had untied the hands of the man best

[55] Diodor. ibid. et Plutarch in Eumen.

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He appoints Eumenes general of the empire in Asia.

qualified to thwart them. To avail himself of this error, Polysperchon wrote to Eumenes in the name of his royal masters, appointing him sole general of the army in Asia, and submitting to his absolute disposal the treasuries in Susa and Kuinda, and in other strong-holds of the East. At the same time, the neighbouring provincial governors were commanded to join his standard with their respective contingents; and should these forces prove insufficient, Polysperchon added, that he would himself conduct an army from Europe, and strenuously cooperate in a warfare to which they were all summoned by every principle of honour and of duty.[56]

Recalls Olympias into Macedon.

To counterbalance the weight of Euridicé with the army in Macedon, the council of Polysperchon could hit on no better expedient than the recall of Olympias, then residing with her brother Æacidas in Epirus. As mother to Alexander, Olympias enjoyed a degree of credit with the Macedonians, which even the abilities of Antipater had been unable to controul. That illustrious viceroy, who well knew her incurable pravity, had consulted the public safety and his own, by compelling her to live in a sort of honourable exile in Epirus; where she had been recently visited by the beautiful Roxana her daughter-in-law, together with Alexander Ægus her grandchild, then in his fourth year, the joint heir to the empire. With these pre-

[56] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 58. Plutarch, ubi supra.

cious pledges, endeared to the Macedonians by the memory of their heroic king, Olympias prepared to return in a sort of triumph [57] to a country which she had quitted with deep mortification; hoping to gratify her ambition, above all to satiate her vengeance.

Publishes an edict for re-establishing democracy in Greece.

Cassander's powerful interest in Greece was the third and sorest evil that afflicted Polysperchon. To remedy this seemingly desperate malady, recourse was had to a still more desperate cure; it was determined to destroy in a moment that singular fabric of government which Philip's long reign had laboriously erected in that country. The decree or edict for this purpose affords a memorable instance of the plausible language, with which those entrusted with public affairs too frequently disguise their most blameable undertakings. It was written in name of the kings, "from whose ancestors, Greece was said to have derived inestimable benefits. But during the long absence of Alexander, calamities had fallen on that country through the misconduct of his generals and ministers. The design of the present edict was to redress former errors, to restore numerous exiles to their respective cities, and to re-establish in every Grecian state its hereditary form of democratic policy. In return for such invaluable favours, the Greeks were required, collectively and individually, to stipulate that they would never bear arms against the kings, nor in

[57] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 58. Plutarch, ubi supra.

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any manner thwart their policy." Though the intercourse by resident ambassadors did not subsist anciently among independent states, yet amidst unequal confederacies, the inferior powers generally employed delegates to attend the councils, and watch the resolutions, of the paramount republic or kingdom. In this capacity certain Greeks living at Pella received the Macedonian edict, to be communicated by them to their respective commonwealths; a writing, which, under the guise of favourable concessions, contained mandates equally cruel and perfidious. Its execution was said, in the instrument itself, to be committed to Polysperchon, whom the Greeks were taught to regard as their beneficent protector, and commanded implicitly to obey.[58]

Calamities occasioned thereby in Greece. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

This circular letter of the kings was no sooner diffused through Greece, than Polysperchon, as if he had intended to shew how unworthily such high trust had been reposed in him, wrote a second epistle in his own name, advising the several republics to embrace the present opportunity for taking vengeance on the inveterate enemies of their laws and liberties. The counsel was not given in vain. That popular licence, which had so long been repressed by the weight of Macedon, broke out with an accumulated fury when fomented and inflamed by that domineering power. Throughout most cities of Greece, the individuals distinguished by rank or merit were banished, plundered, or put to death; the

[58] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 55. et seq.

rabble under their malignant and envious leaders tyrannising with unbridled rapine and sanguinary cruelty.[59]

Aristocracy maintained in Athens, while all around resumed democracy.

But in the city of Athens, ever destined to distinction in history, a city itself the source and fountain of democracy, the party of the nobles remained master through the precaution which Cassander had taken to support it. His partisan, Nicanor, kept possession of the Munychia; despised the authority of the kings, defied the threats of Polysperchon, and derided the injunctions and intrigues of Olympias, who, elated with the near prospect of recovering her former credit, presumed, though yet an exile among the barbarous Epirots, unseasonably to interfere in the public transactions of the empire. Nicanor was encouraged to persevere in this boldness by the strength of his walls; the unsettled state of the regency; above all, by just confidence in the abilities of Cassander, in whose cause he had embarked his fortunes. He easily perceived, however, that Athens, surrounded with insurrection, must soon catch the flame. To anticipate that danger, he diligently levied troops; admitted them secretly into the Munychia; and by an assault equally successful and sudden, surprised the Piræus.[60]

Discontents of the Athenians.

The condition of the Athenians now seemed intolerable; oppressive to their persons, and cruelly painful to their pride. They who had so nobly maintained their freedom against the

[59] Plutarch in Phocion.

[60] Diodor. ibid.

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arms of Macedon, were alone held in subjection in defiance of the express orders of the Macedonian kings. At the moment when they expected to regain the Munychia, they had lost the Piræus; and their servitude was thus rivetted by double and most galling chains; their two renowned harbours, the source of their wealth and power, and the proud monuments of their naval glory. Humbled still more than weakened by their misfortunes, they applied to Phocion, their usual resource on every distressful emergence, and to Conon the son of Timotheus, whose merit ably sustained the fame of an illustrious line of ancestors. These two virtuous citizens were commissioned to treat with Nicanor about withdrawing his garrisons. But, instead of answering their arguments on this subject, he remitted them to Cassander, by whom, he said, the Munychia had been entrusted to him, for whose interests he had seized the Piræus, and to whom only he thought himself responsible. [61]

Revolution in favour of democracy. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

Meanwhile the Athenians pressed Polysperchon with repeated embassies, stating that in their case only, the royal edict remained a dead letter. Careless of such solicitations, but instigated by his own passions and interests, Polysperchon made great levies, and entrusted them to his son Alexander. This Macedonian army was reinforced by a numerous band of Athenian exiles, of out-laws, and of that description of men called *inhabitants*, to denote their mere resi-

[61] Plutarch in Phocion.

dence in the commonwealth, without any right of participation in its offices or honours. The united force marched towards Attica with orders to drive Nicanor from his strong-holds; while Polysperchon and the royal guards attending king Arrhidæus, followed more slowly to reap the fruits of victory. Upon Alexander's arrival at Athens, Phocion endeavoured to convince him of the extreme danger of committing that republic into the hands of the licentious multitude, and was listened to with complaisance, when he advised him, instead of restoring to the Athenians the Piræus and Munychia, should those harbours fall into his hands, to retain them in his own power, and bridle them by vigorous garrisons. Alexander's frequent interviews with Nicanor, whom he had been sent to combat, alarmed the suspicions of the Athenians; but when they discovered the advice given to the former by Phocion, their fears were converted into fury. To men animated by the party passions which domineered the Athenian populace, Phocion's real concern for the safety of his friends and fellow-citizens, could appear in no other light but that of the most manifest treachery to the commonwealth. An assembly was hastily summoned: strangers, outlaws, persons noted with infamy, and even slaves were admitted to the right of suffrage: the aristocracy was abolished, and all those who had participated in its administration, were condemned to death, if they did not elude that sentence by a voluntary banishment. Conon and Pericles fled,

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with many other names of hereditary renown. They were followed by Demetrius Phalereus, a young man distinguished as the favourite scholar of the philosopher Theophrastus, who withdrew himself on this occasion from popular rage, that he might return from obscure banishment at a happier crisis, to promote the best interests of his country.

Phocion recommended to Polysperchon by his son Alexander.

Phocion, and a few friends unalterably attached to him, less anxious for personal safety than zealous for any expedient through which the most worthy portion of the Athenians might be saved from ruin, had recourse to Alexander, by whom they were warmly recommended to his father Polysperchon. The protector sufficiently relished the advice given by Phocion to his son, with regard to the Athenian harbours. His aim was to be master both of them and of the city. If Phocion could have forwarded this object, he would have espoused his party; but that great man was now the victim of mistaken persecution; and Polysperchon saw the inconsistency of governing by an aristocracy the most conspicuous city of the confederacy, after he had just published an edict for restoring all Greece to democratic freedom.[62] In his transaction, therefore, with the unfortunate Athenians who came to solicit his aid, no consideration restrained him from the indulgence of his natural brutality.

The Athenians tried by Poly-

In their journey to Polysperchon in Phocis, the Athenians were accompanied by Dinarchus

[62] Diodor. l. xvii. s. 66.

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a Corinthian, who flattered them and himself with his mighty influence over the mind of the protector in consequence of old familiarity and mutual good offices. Dinarchus fell sick at Elatæa, which occasioned unseasonable delay; for the assembly of Athens, agitated by demagogues, dispatched in this interval an embassy to Polysperchon, arraigning Phocion and his companions. The adverse parties met the king and protector at an obscure Phocian village near the foot of mount Arorion. To give the semblance of regularity and pomp to a trial disgraced by every circumstance of injustice and cruelty, Polysperchon ordered a pavilion to be raised for king Arrhidæus, covered with a canopy of gold: and when the tribunal was constituted in the usual form, shewed that public motives only were to influence his conduct, by consigning his personal friend Dinarchus to the instruments of torture. [63]

Polysperchon. —His execrable cruelty.

It will be easier to conceive the consternation of those who trusted to the intercession of the ill-fated Corinthian, than to imagine the mingled sentiments which agitated Phocion's breast, where humanity ennobled by dignity had long fixed her throne. He had passed his eightieth year in the enjoyment or disdain of the greatest rewards which kings or commonwealths can bestow. Forty-five times he had been elected general of the Athenians, without once soliciting that high station. The allies of his republic

Phocion. —His character and unworthy treatment.

[63] Plutarch in Phocion.

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had presented him with crowns and statues; and even its enemies acknowledged his abilities and venerated his virtues. Philip, and his immortal son who delighted in every kind of merit, laboured successively and strenuously to gain Phocion to their interests. The man who, amidst the lucrative employments of his country, remained poor from inclination and taste, might reject the insolent generosity of strangers; but Phocion did more; he preferred serving a republic whose levity he despised, whose vices he abominated, whose hasty resentment he had often experienced, to the generosity and friendship of princes whom his discernment held in high and just admiration. Having fallen amidst the turbulence and madness of the latter democracy, he often stemmed the torrent of popular frenzy; and the fiercest demagogues had often trembled at the frown of Phocion. All his noble excellences were brightened by the mild lustre of humanity; and this was his true glory, that those terrible eyebrows with which his enemies reproached him, had never rebuked insultingly the meanest citizen, nor ever threatened vengefully the most implacable adversary.

His trial and execution. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

Such genuine dignity of life availed not to avert death from a base tribunal, before which he was often interrupted by the unfeeling demagogue Agnonides, and often reproached by the execrable Polysperchon. At length, stamping the ground with his feet, the protector dismissed sternly the accused persons from his presence, that they might be thrown in irons, and thus

remanded to Athens. In a letter to the new magistrates of that city, he told them that Phocion and his friends appeared to him guilty of many crimes; but that their fate ought ultimately to be decided by the Athenian people. In this forbearance Polysperchon was guided, not by the wish for lessening his guilt of blood, for of that he seemed altogether careless, but by his desire of soothing and seducing the Athenian multitude, who panted for an opportunity of exercising their recently acquired right of impeachment and punishment. Phocion was accused of subverting the free government of Athens, and a time was appointed for hearing his defence. This was the only regular part of the proceedings; for, at sight of the promiscuous rabble crowding the market-place, a virtuous citizen exclaimed, that since the decision belonged to Athenians, strangers and slaves ought to be excluded from the assembly. His observation only provoked the threats of the populace. No one ventured to rise in favour of Phocion; and when he began to plead for himself, his voice was drowned in rude clamours, until he proceeded to ask, "Whether they meant to condemn him justly, or unjustly?" The answer being returned "justly." "How can you know that," he rejoined, "unless I am heard." But his second attempt to speak was overpowered with equal brutality, the multitude only observing the violent and varied agitations of his body while he defended the lives of his dearest friends. On this interesting subject,

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affection invigorating his voice, he was heard to say, "I willingly submit to death, but why should you destroy these innocent men?" The multitude replied, "because they are your friends." Agnonides then read the prepared decree for proceeding to immediate execution.

While the prisoners were conducted to punishment, several of them melted into tears at taking the last farewell of their friends and kinsmen. But Phocion maintained that steady composure and firm aspect, with which he had often led the Athenians to battle, and often returned in triumph amidst the general acclamations of his countrymen. Yet his heroism could not now overawe the brutish multitude intoxicated with their mad victory over abilities and virtues. Many loaded him with reproaches, all rejoiced at his misfortunes, one wretch spat in his face. Phocion only noticed this insult, by saying calmly, "will none hinder the unhappy man from covering himself with disgrace!" Being asked by a citizen who met the procession, whether he had any commands for his son Phocus? he replied, "that he should forget my wrongs and forgive the Athenians." In prison, his friends requested that he would be the last to drink the fatal hemlock. He said the request was painful; that nevertheless he would comply, as hitherto he had never denied them any thing. The hemlock being exhausted, the executioner refused to prepare a new dose, unless he were previously paid twelve drachmas. Phocion desired the money to be given to him,

remarking playfully, "that a man could not even die gratis at Athens." The inhuman treatment of this admirable person was followed by a total extinction of worth in the most ancient and most illustrious of the Grecian commonwealths. The cruelty of his legal murder seemed to his superstitious contemporaries to derive aggravation from the day on which it happened; the nineteenth of May being a festival consecrated to Jupiter, and celebrated at Athens by an equestrian procession. The horsemen, many of whom had fought under the banners of Phocion, halted before the place of his confinement, tearing their garlands from their heads, and bewailing his altered fortune and approaching execution. [64]

Cassander defends the harbours of Athens against the city.

But the guiltless blood which these degenerate Athenians had only pity to lament, the Macedonian Cassander had courage to avenge. To oppose the measures of the protector, he had, as observed above, solicited assistance from Antigonus, who wished to destroy every paramount power in the empire, and from him had obtained thirty-five ships of war and six thousand veterans. With this armament, only four days after Phocion's death, he sailed to the Piræus, then held by his deputy Nicanor. That officer resigning to him the Piræus again resumed the command of the Munychia; and the two *harbours* of Athens defied the *city* under its new democracy, and Polysperchon who marched

[64] Plutarch in Phocion.

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from Phocis with an army twenty-five thousand strong and sixty-five elephants.[65]

Operations of Polysperchon in the Peloponnesus. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

As the Athenian harbours made an obstinate resistance, scarcity of provisions compelled Polysperchon to divide his forces. A part was left with his son Alexander to besiege the Piræus and Munychia; with the larger portion he marched into Peloponnesus, where the Arcadian city of Megalopolis still rejected his royal edict for abolishing its aristocracy. In his attempts to enter the place, he was opposed by fifteen thousand warriors. In vain he employed the butting strength of his elephants for breaking open the gates. Danus, a Megalopolitan, who had accompanied the Indian expedition of Alexander, rendered ineffectual the hostility of these assailants, now first employed in the wars of Greece. Their fury was turned on their conductors by a machinery of wooden planks, armed with iron spikes artfully concealed, and inflicting on them intolerable sufferings.[66]

Sea-fight off Byzantium. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

Disconcerted in his measures at Megalopolis, but happy in filling other cities of the Peloponnesus with sedition and bloodshed, Polysperchon was recalled into Macedon, to co-operate with Olympias in that country. Before leaving Attica, he had sent his admiral, Clytus, with a numerous fleet to assist Aridæus, governor of the Hellespontian Phrygia, who was painfully struggling, as before related, under the mighty grasp of Antigonus. Cassander, to prevent the

[65] Diodorus, l. xviii. s. 68. [66] Id. l. xviii. s. 71.

triumph of the enemy in that important quarter, ordered Nicanor to sail for the narrow seas with the squadron of thirty-five ships belonging to Antigonus, and such an additional force from the Piræus and Munychia, as raised the whole number to a hundred galleys. The hostile fleets met in the Thracian Bosporus, and fought the battle of Byzantium, famous for the rapid alternation of victory, and still more memorable for its important consequences both in Europe and in Asia. In the first scene of the bloody drama Nicanor was defeated; above one-half of his ships was taken; and the remainder happy to find refuge in the neighbouring harbour of Calcedon, directly opposite to Byzantium. But Antigonus, who, at the head of an army, watched the proceedings of both fleets, converted this heavy disaster into the means of signal and brilliant success.[67] Having dispatched proper agents to Byzantium, he collected, in the first part of the night, the small craft and merchantmen lying in that seaport. In these vessels, having hastily embarked the choice of his light-armed troops, he assailed before dawn the unsuspecting victors, who had presumptuously landed on the Thracian coast, encumbered and fatigued with the care of their booty and prisoners. Clytus, unprepared to fight, ordered his men to fly to their ships. Part of them put to sea, but encountered there a new danger; for Nicanor, whom Antigonus had reinforced with

Antigonus's successful stratagem.

[67] Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 72. and Polyæn. l. iv. c. 68.

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a select band, calculated to act as marines, was ready for their reception. Their whole fleet was taken, except the admiral's galley, with which Clytus landed on an obscure part of the Thracian coast, hoping secretly to escape to Macedon. But being recognised in his flight, he perished ignobly by some Thracian deserters; a sad reverse to a man, who, upon his first temporary advantage, had assumed the trident of Neptune, and affected the honours of divinity![68]

Athens surrenders to Cassander.

The momentous consequences of this victory, with regard to the affairs of Antigonus and Eumenes, will afterwards be explained. In Greece also, the success of Cassander's admiral, contrasted with the recent disgrace of Polysperchon before the walls of Megalopolis, greatly encouraged the one party, and proportionally disheartened the other; while the opposite behaviour of the two leaders corresponded with the natural tendency of their contrary fortunes, and powerfully heightened their effect. Old age had enfeebled the understanding of Polysperchon, without moderating his passions. He was rash without boldness, slow without prudence, contemptible through pusillanimity, and odious through cruelty. But the character of Cassander was equally ardent and engaging; and the energy mixed with caution, conspicuous in all his measures, procured for him a decided ascendancy in every republic beyond the Isthmus. Even the Athenians, outrageous as had been

[68] Plutarch, Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

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their recent proceedings, abated of their animosity, repented of past errors, and surrendered on capitulation their city, to a general already master of their harbours. According to the moderate terms agreed on, they were secured in the enjoyment of their country, their ships, revenues, and hereditary laws. The right of suffrage, however, was thenceforward to be confined to those enjoying a thousand drachmas of yearly income; a census, which though falling short by one-half of that established by Antipater after the Lamian war, yet excluded from the assembly and courts of justice the needy rabble, whose recent brutality had eternally disgraced their country.[69] To these conditions an article was added, abridging the liberty of Athens, but encreasing her real happiness. Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we before made mention, an Athenian indeed by birth, but whose father had been a slave in the houses of Conon and Timotheus[70], was appointed to controul the finances and administer the government. Demetrius was in his thirtieth year, when the favour of his friend Cassander raised him to this high station, for which he was equally well qualified by his talents and his temper. To a correct knowledge in ethics and politics, then deemed practical sciences, he united an easy and copious flow of persuasive eloquence, in his judgment as essential to a statesman, in a

Is governed ten years by Demetrius Phalereus. Olymp. cxv. 4.—cxviii. 2. B. C. 317—307.

[69] Diodor. l. xviii. s. 74. [70] Ælian. V. Hist. l. xii. c. 43.

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a free country, as tactics to a general.[71] Among his first public measures, he carefully ascertained the populousness of the community, amounting to twenty-one thousand citizens, and ten thousand strangers; both of these numbers, including the males of full age only; and four hundred thousand slaves of every age and either sex.[72] During the ten years that he presided over the republic, he improved the revenues, beautified the city, moderated expensive vanity, and restrained ruinous luxury. By his rewards, and still more his example, he encouraged arts and letters; and it is acknowledged by the warmest republicans of antiquity, that the Athenians experienced more happiness and even more secure freedom under the guidance of this wise and virtuous governor, than they ever enjoyed amidst the factious turbulence of their wild democracy.[73]

Olympias returns to Macedon, and gains the army. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

While the fortune of Cassander thus flowed prosperously in Greece, his admired Euridicé ruled supreme in Macedon. The authority of Polysperchon seemed for ever extinguished; and in vain he would have marched from the Peloponnesus, in hopes to recover it, had not Olympias, with talents for intrigue, improved by long and unremitted practice, returned from

[71] Diogen. Laert. in Demet. l. v. s. 75. Plutarch and Cicero, passim.

[72] Athenæus, l. vi. as explained in my introduction to Lysias, p. 5. et seq.

[73] Cicero de Legibus, l. iii. c. 6. & Strabo, l. ix. p. 398. Diodorus Plutarch, Ælian, &c. speak to the same purpose.

Epirus, carrying with her Alexander Ægus, whom many regarded as rightful heir to the monarchy. Confiding in this sacred pledge, in the last desperate struggles of Polysperchon, and in the zealous aid of her brother Æacidas, king of Epirus, she hastened to resume her ascendency over the Macedonians, as the wife, the mother, and the protectress of their beloved hereditary kings. Euridicé, when apprised of her intentions, dispatched messengers to Cassander, then in Peloponnesus, requiring his presence; but though his alacrity and ambition were winged by love, he arrived too late to prevent a most melancholy catastrophe. Olympias had reached the obscure Macedonian town of Evia, near the lake Lychnidus, on the Illyrian frontier, where her rival lay encamped, in order to repel the invasion. By insults intolerable to Euridicé's high spirit, she provoked her to battle. While the hostile armies were arraying for combat, Olympias, with a courage that bespoke the descendant of Achilles and the mother of Alexander, advanced between the approaching lines. Her aspect, her voice, the boldness of her graceful action, the tender years and auspicious name of her grand-child Alexander Ægus, all these circumstances affected and overawed the factious but ever-loyal Macedonians. They recalled to memory her former greatness, and remembered the triumphant reigns of her son, and of her husband.[74]

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[74] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11.

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Murder of Arrhidæus and Euridicé. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

With a sudden and unanimous resolution, they deserted the standard of Euridicé. That unhappy princess, with the contemptible Arrhidæus, equally a pageant as a king and as a husband, were intercepted in their flight towards the fortified city of Amphipolis, and by order of Olympias, thrown together into a dungeon, while the implacable conqueror prepared to use her victory, not with the dignity of a queen, the tenderness of a woman, or even the feeling of a human creature. After suffering every indignity for many days, Philip Arrhidæus, who had sat six years and four months on the throne of Alexander, was released by the merciful hands of Thracian assassins. To Euridicé, before whose eyes he suffered, Olympias sent three presents; a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poison. The vengeful pride of Euridicé prayed that these abominable presents might recoil on her adversary; for herself she needed them not: her own zone served to destroy her, which she dexterously prepared for the purpose in presence of Olympias's messengers. Previously to her self-inflicted execution, she asserted her preferable right to the crown, but neither bewailed her premature fate, nor indicated the smallest humiliation at her accumulated misfortunes. The fury of Olympias was yet implacable. The chief adherents of Cassander, about an hundred illustrious Macedonians, were attainted and executed. Her impotent rage ransacked even the tombs of the dead; and the mouldering bones of his brother Jollas, who had been cup-

bearer to Alexander, were exposed and condemned on the derided pretence that he had poisoned his king and master. [75]

Cassander avenges their death.

But Cassander himself lived to avenge all these enormities. Polysperchon indeed guarded the southern frontier of Macedon; and his countrymen, the Etolians, occupied the straits of Thermopylæ. The army, personally attached to Olympias, was committed to lieutenants: that inexorable queen, whose crimes had filled her fierce breast with panic, shut herself up within the impregnable strength of Pydna, accompanied by the young Alexander, his mother Roxana, and an illustrious attendance of female relations, princesses of Macedon or Epirus. [76] Instead of attempting to make his way to her by land, Cassander collected transports chiefly from Locris and Eubæa, and proceeded by sea to Thessaly. Against Polysperchon, who was encamped in Perrhebia, a district of that country, he sent Callas, an able officer, who had the address to excite disaffection in the army of an old and morose general. A revolt, fomented by Cassander's emissaries in Epirus, prevented all danger from that quarter. Cassander in person laid siege to Pydna; which, besides the strength of the place, was defended by a severe and tempestuous winter. It was, however, blocked up by sea and land, until the scarcity became so great, that the soldiers were obliged to subsist for a week on the ordinary allowance

Siege of Pydna. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

[75] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 11. and Pausanias, l. viii. c. 7.

[76] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 35.

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of a single day. At length it became necessary to kill the horses for food; the elephants fed on saw-dust; the Greeks and Macedonians died of hunger; the Barbarians eat the dead bodies.[77] Having failed in an attempt to escape by night, in a brigantine supplied by Polysperchon, Olympias avoided by surrender the famine fast approaching herself and her illustrious kinswomen. Life was the only boon for which she stipulated; but with this condition, her own dangerous character, and the fickle temper of the Macedonians, rendered it unsafe to comply. She was, agreeably to the legal forms of her country, publicly arraigned; and not appearing to plead, was condemned capitally. Cassander wished her to confirm the decision by voluntary flight; but on pretence of irregularity in the proceedings, she demanded a new trial. This demand was answered by a body of two hundred men, selected from the army as fit instruments for murder. The majesty of her aspect is said to have disarmed the assassins; but her fate was at hand from her personal adversaries, kinsmen to her late victims, and stern avengers of their blood. She suffered death with the same unconcern with which she would have inflicted it[78]: a woman of unconquerable spirit, of boundless ambition, and of inhuman cruelty.

Trial and death of Olympias.

In the fate of Olympias was involved that of

Aristonous in-

[77] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 49.

[78] Conf. Pausanias, Bœotic. c. 7. Diodor. l. xix. s. 51. & Polyænus, l. iv. c. 2.

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Aristonous, a man of the highest rank among Alexander's captains, since, at the time of his master's death, he held a place, as we have before seen, both among the *life-guards* and the *equestrian companions*. He had remained in Europe as the likeliest person, failing Antipater, to be raised to the protectorship; but, to the great misfortune of the empire, Polysperchon had been preferred to him. He now commanded in Amphipolis; and at the desire of Olympias, reluctantly capitulated with Cassander on condition of personal safety. But Aristonous was quickly sacrificed to reasons of state; he was a man doubly dangerous by his dignity and his loyalty.[79]

volved in her fate. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B.C. 316.

The capture of Pydna put into Cassander's power, among other illustrious prisoners, Alexander Ægus, with his mother Roxana; Deidamia, neice to Olympias, being daughter to Æacidas, king of Epirus; and Thessalonica, the youngest daughter of Philip of Macedon. The young Alexander and Roxana were shut up in the strong castle of Amphipolis. Deidamia proved an useful hostage for the fidelity of the Epirots; and Thessalonica was made subservient by Cassander to his views of greatness. Descended on one side from the kings of Macedon, and on the other from the illustrious Jason of Thessaly, Thessalonica might have spurned the hand of a man naturally the servant of such families; but her pride durst not decline the

Cassander marries Philip's daughter Thessalonica.

[79] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 50.

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proffered nuptials. They were celebrated with a pomp surpassing that of the obsequies of Arrhidæus and Euridicé; who were interred, however, with royal honours at Ægae, as legitimate wearers of a crown, which rightfully devolved, by their inhuman murder, on Cassander and Thessalonica.

Builds Cassandria. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

To mark his accession to power, Cassander founded a new city called by his name, on the isthmus of Pallené; a situation uniting peculiar advantages in point both of war and of commerce. Cassandria arose from the ruins of Potidæa; and being endowed with a fertile territory, adorned by a double harbour, and strongly fortified by sea and land, speedily attained, under the fostering hand of its founder, a magnitude proportional to its rank, as the new Macedonian capital.[80]

Restores Thebes.

Yet, as the founder of Cassandria, this fortunate usurper gained less glory, than he shortly afterwards acquired as the restorer of Thebes. In an expedition, undertaken for destroying Polysperchon's adherents in the Peloponnesus, whom he expelled from all their possessions, except Corinth and Sicyon, Cassander passed through the ancient city of Cadmus, so famous in the history, and still more in the fables of Greece. He viewed its desolation with real or well-affected concern, and embraced the resolution of rebuilding its walls, and collecting its wandering citizens within them. Such a

[80] Diodor. l. xix. s. 52.

generous purpose inspired the Athenians and neighbouring states with an emulation of beneficence. Even the Greeks of Asia, Italy, Sicily, and Cyrené, vied with each other in contributions towards restoring the pristine splendour of Thebes; and the renovation of this ancient capital, whose ruin had been invidiously ascribed to the son of Philip, helped to consolidate the power and renown of the supplanter of his family.[81]

[81] Conf. Pausanias, l. xi. c. 7. & Diodor. l. xix. s. 53, 54.

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State of the Empire.—Fancied Theocracy in the Throne of Alexander.—Machinations of the Rebellious Satraps.—Defeated by Eumenes.—He marches into the upper Provinces.—Peculiar Circumstances of their Governors at that Moment.—War between Antigonus and Eumenes.—Their mutual Stratagems, and Battles.—Defection of the Argyraspides.—Eumenes's Captivity and Death.

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State of the empire at the time of Antipater's death. Olymp. cxv. 2. B.C. 319.

THE death of Antipater, the only one of Alexander's successors long practised in government, dissolved the whole vigour of the regency. In Egypt and Cyrené, Ptolemy confirmed his separate sovereignty. On the banks of the Euphrates, Seleucus was meditating designs equally independent and still more lofty. Lysimachus laboriously reared his barbarous monarchy of Thrace; the civil commotions in Greece conspired with the domestic dissensions in the royal family of Macedon to throw these countries into the hands of Cassander; while Lesser Asia exhibited a various and deep drama, ennobled at once by the powers of the performers and the splendid prize of victory. The prize was the golden throne of Lydian Crœsus: the combatants were Antigonus and Eumenes; Antigonus the most energetic, and Eumenes the most dexterous of all the Macedonian captains.

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We have already seen the artful secretary of Alexander released by his own consummate address from the Cappadocian fortress of Nora; and from the successive and abject conditions of a fugitive and a prisoner, raised, as it were, at one bound, to the most efficient station in the empire. In virtue of the office conferred upon him by the protector Polysperchon, he was entitled to summon to his standard the silver-shielded *hyspaspists*, who had faithfully performed the business recently entrusted to them, of conveying part of the treasures of Upper Asia to the Cilician fortress Kuinda, situate among abrupt fastnesses about twelve miles north of Tarsus. The protector's vicegerent in Asia was further entrusted with ample powers over the other treasuries in the empire; and the satraps, in every part of the East, were commanded to assist him to the utmost of their abilities.[1]

Eumenes takes the command in Asia against Antigonus. Olymp. cxv. 3. B. C. 318.

Before he received this ample commission, Eumenes, immediately upon his escape from Nora, had been joined by several thousands of those provincial troops whom he had himself formed, and who now accompanied their beloved commander and friend to the neighbourhood of Kuinda. The treasures in that fortress enabled him to reward their alacrity, to make hasty levies in Caria and Pisidia, provinces still unconquered by Antigonus, and to employ numerous agents in hiring mercenaries from many parts of Greece, and even from Tarentum in Italy. Upon his

Fancied theocracy in the portable temple of Alexander. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

[1] Diodor. l. xix. s. 12. et seq. Plutarch in Eumen.

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appearance in Cilicia, the Argyraspides joined his standard in compliance with the royal mandate. But the submission of their chiefs, Antigenes and Teutamus, was reluctant; the obedience of the troops was precarious, and both officers and men had engrafted the pompous luxury of Asia on their native pride and habitual fierceness. These dangerous passions, Eumenes endeavoured to soothe by kindness and courtesy, and more effectually controuled by an expedient congenial to the superstition of the age, and perhaps suggested by his own. Besides the ample powers contained in his commission, Polysperchon, in name of the kings, had bestowed on him five hundred talents to repair his pecuniary and private losses; a present, which Eumenes told the Argyraspides, as far exceeded his wishes, as the princely authority conferred on him surpassed his birth and his abilities. "Alexander alone was worthy to command the high-minded Macedonians[2]; and from that immortal prince, humble as was his own condition, he had been honoured with a message to them, which being communicated by supernatural means, ought to be respectfully received and implicitly obeyed. In a manifest and distinct vision, he had beheld his august master: he had heard his commanding voice. Alexander had

[2] This speech of Eumenes is illustrated by the most affecting scene in military history, the dismay of the army on the wound, deemed mortal, which Alexander received in the Mallian fortress, and the enthusiasm of joy which followed on his recovery. Arrian, l. vi. c. 12. et seq.

shewn to him an altar and pavilion, declaring that when his friends assembled in the pavilion round his altar, his genius would be present in the midst of them. The royal munificence, intended for myself personally, I will therefore consecrate to him, through whose virtue all our fortunes have been established. On a resplendent throne of gold, let us deposit his armour, sceptre, and diadem: let us daily worship at his altar: around both, let the chiefs assemble on every important emergency: we shall deliberate boldly, yet wisely, when inspired by the presence of our matchless sovereign." The proposal was heard with an enthusiasm of applause; and the design being executed with equal magnificence and celerity, a fancied theocracy was vested in the portable temple of Alexander, which, glowing with the gems of the East, thenceforward directed the motions of the royal army.[3]

Thereby defeats the machinations of Ptolemy and other satraps against him.

While Eumenes was busied with rearing in Cilicia this extraordinary engine of government, Antigonus was still detained at the farther extremity of the peninsula. Aridæus, governor of Hellespontian Phrygia, had been enabled to keep hold of that province through the co-operation of Clytus commanding the numerous fleet of Polysperchon. But the decisive battle of Byzantium, in which Antigonus had prevailed through his personal activity and energy, gave him the entire command of the narrow seas; and as he had now no dangerous enemy behind in Asia,

[3] Plutarch et Diodor. l. xix. s. 12. et seq.

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nor any reason to apprehend the transportation of troops from Europe to wrest from him his conquests, he prepared to march eastward to crush the rival general of the empire, who, equally with himself, maintained the indivisibility of Alexander's succession. The principle of indivisibility was highly obnoxious to Ptolemy. He considered Egypt and Cyrené as completely his own, and expected also to retain his recent conquest of Syria, including Palæstine and Phœnicia. Upon the first appearance of a new power growing up in the centre of the empire, and decidedly hostile to his views, he had sent a fleet of observation to the Cilician harbour of Zephyrium; and his emissaries, as well as those of Antigonus, now crowded the camp of Eumenes, and industriously sowed sedition. Teutamus, one of the leaders of the Argyraspides, was seduced into a conspiracy against his general's life. But these profligate machinations, Eumenes surmounted with such dexterity, that the abortive attempts to alienate his followers, only rivetted their affections more firmly: heightened their zeal, and confirmed their loyalty.[4]

Eumenes marches to Babylonia.

To avail himself of these favourable dispositions, he led his army, now fifteen thousand strong, into the neighbouring province of Phœnicia. Ptolemy's garrisons were weak. He had usurped the country in direct opposition to the authority of the kings and the protector. Eu-

[4] Plutarch et Diodor. ibid.

menes was every where successful in Phœnicia; and was on the point of recovering for the kings the whole of that maritime coast, when he received news of Antigonus's march against him, at the head of the most select part of his army, amounting to twenty-four thousand well-disciplined soldiers. In consequence of this information, it became necessary to move into Upper Asia, whose satraps still respected the authority of the kings: had he remained on the sea-coast, his small force must have been crushed between Ptolemy and Antigonus. By hasty marches, he proceeded through Cœlesyria, traversed the long valley of the Orontes, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and encamped first at Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, and afterwards in the narrower peninsula of Babylonia, thirty miles above Babylon.

Seleucus distresses his army by inundating the country. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

In his march eastward, he had sent an embassy to Seleucus, acquainting him with his commission and his views. Seleucus spoke respectfully of the royal commission; but instead of assisting the general who had been named to exercise it, secretly tampered with the Argyraspides. As preceding wars had consumed the magazines, on the western side of the Tigris[5], Eumenes prepared to cross that river, both for the sake of more plentiful subsistence, and that he might approach the rich province of Susiana, particularly the royal treasury in the fortress of Susa. His design was obstructed by opening the sluices

[5] Diodor. l. xv. p. 1063.

CHAP. V. of an old and neglected communication between the Tigris and Euphrates, which exposed his camp to a sudden inundation: so that when a chosen division of his troops had passed the Tigris in boats hastily collected, they were under the necessity of returning, in order to save the baggage and more encumbered portion of the army. The information of a native Babylonian taught Eumenes how to divert the superfluous waters. While proper measures were using for this purpose, Seleucus, who distrusted his power to repel the invaders, sent to offer a truce and an unmolested passage of the river, at the same moment that he urged by message Antigonus, who was already in Mesopotamia, to hasten his progress to Babylon; that they might co-operate effectually against their common foe.[6] Eumenes meanwhile crossed safely into Susiana, a country enriched by alluvious slime, and celebrated for making returns in wheat and barley of an hundred and sometimes two hundred fold.[7] But the corn was not then in the fields, and the natives concealed their granaries. For the greater facility of subsistence, the army was formed into three divisions: and even with this precaution, was obliged, instead of bread, to be contented with rice, sesame, and dates.[8] From Susiana, he dispatched messengers into Media and the more eastern satrapies, requiring their

[6] Diodor. l. xix. s. 13. [7] Strabo, l. xv. p. 1063.

[8] Diodorus says, that the eastern bank of the Tigris was ακεραιος, entire and untouched, but it should seem not to have been exempted from the ravages which deformed the opposite side of the river.

governors, conformably to the royal pleasure, to reinforce his arms. He likewise applied to Zenophilus, the keeper of the castle and treasury of Susa; who acknowledged the authority of his commission, and shewed the utmost readiness in answering all his demands. CHAP. V.

Eumenes's embassy to the eastern satrapies. Olymp. cxv. 4. B. C. 317.

With his dispatches to the satrapies, he had not reason to hope a ready or universal compliance. Amidst the uncertainty of a disputed succession, and the loose irregularity of government to which they had long been accustomed, the distant governors, always inclined to disaffection, might totally disregard the royal mandate. The time, too, for resisting Antigonus might escape, before the agents of Eumenes could traverse the vast regions bounded by the Tigris, the Caspian, and the eastern stream of the Indus. Both these inconveniences were obviated by a conjuncture not less favourable than unexpected. Python, governor of Media, with whose character the reader is sufficiently acquainted, had shewn an inclination rather to imitate than oppose the rebellion of Antigonus. Not contented with commanding the finest province in the empire, he had employed its resources towards acquiring in the East a preeminence not less conspicuous than that of the western usurper. Philotas, satrap of Parthia, who resisted his measures with more boldness than ability, was the victim of his vengeance. The surrounding satraps, alarmed by the fate of Philotas, flew to arms, defeated Python in Parthia, and expelled him successively both from

Their condition at that time.

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that province and from Media. He was thus forced across the Tigris, and compelled to court the protection of Seleucus. The messengers of Eumenes found the confederate satraps assembled in one camp, and the better disposed to listen to their master's demands, because his adversary Seleucus had kindly received Python, the object of their common resentment. They consented unanimously to join his standard in Susiana, and executed their resolution with the same alacrity with which it had been taken. But we are justly surprised at the scanty supplies of troops collected from the massy square between the Tigris and the Indus, the Persian gulph and the Caspian. Except Python, whom we have just mentioned, and Peucestes satrap of Persis, the Proper Persia, the governors of the different provinces included in that vast space, exceeding in extent the half of Europe, were all of them Macedonian officers of the second rank; and who had received their lucrative appointments as the rewards of past services, without ever reaching either high distinction in the army, or high preferment in the personal attendance on their sovereign. Peucestes, as well as Python, was in the number of the eight life-guards of Alexander; and the former had been sent to govern the imperial district of Persis, about the same time that the latter was raised to the command of one of the eight troops of *Companions*. To the standard of Eumenes, Peucestes brought thirteen thousand foot and one thousand horse; Tlepolemus, Sibyrtius, and Stasander, who were

Their respective forces.

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respectively satraps of Carmania, Arachosia, and Aria, commanded small divisions amounting collectively to three thousand nine hundred foot, and two thousand three hundred horse; Androbazus, lieutenant of Oxyartes[9], conducted from Paropamisus only twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse; but Eudamus, who had succeeded to Python the son of Agenor as superintendant of the Macedonian affairs in the Panjab, supplied a formidable brigade of an hundred and twenty elephants, attended by a body of three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. According to received accounts the whole[10] reinforcement which Eumenes derived from the East, little exceeded twenty thousand foot and four[11] thousand horse; a number inconsiderable when compared with European armies of modern date, yet it should seem sufficient in that age to command respect in Asia: a circumstance conformable to the experience of after times, since the battle of Plassey, which established the English dominion in India, was gained by three thousand men, of whom only nine hundred were Europeans.[12]

The vigorous preparations of Eumenes obliged Antigonus crosses the

[9] Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, was prevented through age or infirmity from heading his own forces.

[10] We shall afterwards find, in his army at the first battle, Amphimachus, satrap of Mesopotamia; and in the second battle, Mithridates of Pontus, and Philip of Bactriana; of the junction of these three satraps no notice is taken.

[11] Diodorus says 18,700 foot and 4600 horse; but his particular numbers do not give this general amount. Diodor. l. xix. s. 14.

[12] Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan, p. 93.

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Tigris to meet the enemy. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Antigonus to change his plan. His first aim had been to surprise by celerity; but he now suspended his march, in order to gain by new levies an equality of force. He was joined in the neighbourhood of Babylon by Python the deprived satrap of Media, who commanded fifteen hundred horsemen; and by a detachment from Seleucus, who, anxious to remove the war from his own province, strongly encouraged him to pass the Tigris, and give battle to the enemy. In compliance with an advice congenial to his natural confidence, Antigonus prepared to pass into Susiana, a country intersected by many rivers, being the great drain of Media, and of the intermediate high-lands between Media and Assyria. The first river in his way was the Tigris; and far beyond, flowed the Pasitigris, that is, the Eastern Tigris: between them, were interposed the Choaspes, Eulæus, and Coprates. During the reigns of Darius Hystaspis, and of Xerxes, respectively the æras of Persian glory and of Persian shame, Susa the capital of Susiana was also the capital of the empire, the ordinary residence of the great king, the main depository of his treasures, and the general rendezvous of his court and army. This great and beautiful[13] city is placed by Herodotus on the

[13] Shus in modern Persian means beautiful. In A.D. 260. the Persian Sapor, to commemorate his victories over the Romans an the Emperor Valerian, built, from the stone-quarries in the neighbourhood, the modern capital Shuster, about fifty miles east of the ruins of Shus. The syllable *er* in Shuster marks the comparative degree: Shus, beautiful; Shuster, more beautiful. Major Rennell first showed these ruins to be the ancient Susa; which had been erroneously placed at Tostar.

Choaspes; but most historians[14] have assigned for its site the flowery banks of the Eulæus, and derived its name from the word signifying lilies[15], in which that river abounded. The difference, however, may be reconciled, if we consider that the amplitude of the city must have nearly filled up the whole space between the two rivers; and in fact the ruins of Susa, now Shus, occupy a space above twelve miles in length. They consist of mounds of clay and sand intermixed with broken bricks and coloured tiles; and the Arabs, in digging for hidden treasures, not unfrequently meet with large blocks of marble, inscribed with hieroglyphics. Eumenes fixed his camp on the left bank of the most eastern river, and allowed his enemies, on a bridge of boats, to cross the Tigris; not doubting that he should gain an opportunity of assailing them with advantage, while they crossed one or other of the intermediate streams.[16]

Peucestes brings ten thousand Persians to the assist-

Meanwhile Peucestes, although, as one of Alexander's body-guards, he thought himself degraded by serving under Eumenes, strenuously

[14] Daniel, Diodorus, Arrian.

[15] From lilies, to beauty, the transition is easy.

[16] Diodorus, by confounding the Tigris and Pasitigris, has rendered this campaign unintelligible. He wrote probably from the description of an eye-witness, Hieronymus of Cardia, then accompanying Eumenes. But his universal history is too vast a design for minute accuracy. It would be fruitless, however, to attempt reconciling in every point the ancient with the modern geography; for the rivers have, by dams, been made to change their course, and their waters have, for agricultural purposes, been dispersed into various channels. Compare Dr. Vincent's Nearchus, and Mr. Kinneir's Memoir and Map.

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ance of Eumenes.

co-operated with that general through hatred of Python, and fear of Antigonus: and, for the purpose of harassing the enemy, summoned to his aid ten thousand Persian archers by an expedient often practised, always ready at command, and which had been originally suggested by the singular fitness of local circumstances. In the extent of above five hundred miles along the Persian gulph, the jagged mountains stretching from the bay of Ormus to the bloody dens of the Uxij and Cossæans, were so regularly intersected, that centinels had been posted at nearly equal distances, whose voices could communicate intelligence from one mountain to another in twenty-four hours, over a country that was the march of a laborious month. Of this contrivance the Persian kings had made use, to defend against sudden invasion the central and imperial district of their country, the scene of their decisive victories over the Medes, and the seat of their successive palaces Pasagarda and Persepolis. The same means were now employed by Peucestes, for gaining a speedy [18] reinforcement.

Eumenes surprises the enemy at their passage over the Coprates. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Antigonus had by this time reached Susiana. He declared Seleucus governor of that province in addition to Babylonia; and entrusted him with troops to besiege their common enemy Zenophilus, keeper of the royal treasury, in the citadel of Susa. He himself proceeded eastward towards Eumenes, exposed to the heat of the dog-days, and the unwholesome vapours of an

[18] Diodor. l. xix. s. 17.

alluvial soil. Having arrived at the Coprates, he collected boats for crossing that river, which is deep, rapid, and above fourscore fathoms broad. A considerable part of his army had already passed, and was preparing for encampment, when Eumenes, having watched the decisive moment, surprised his divided and unarmed enemies. Four thousand of them surrendered prisoners; a greater number perished in their flight and in the river; and this disaster, added to his incredible sufferings on the march, determined Antigonus to defer his long-projected battle, and to leave at the mercy of his adversary the fertile province of Susiana, the splendour of its capital Susa, and the vast treasures accumulated in its citadel. [19]

Antigonus marches into Media.

From his encampment on the Coprates, he proceeded, with as much expedition as was permitted by the heat of the season and the sickness of his troops, to the city of Bodaca, situate north of Susa, between the Eulæus and Choaspes. Having halted there, several days, for rest and refreshment, he resolved to march into Media, where his ally Python had still numerous partisans, and where he might be abundantly supplied with every accommodation in point of subsistence or conveyance. But it was not easy to decide by what route he should proceed to so well-provided a country. Two roads penetrated into the most inviting districts of Media; the one to the right, safe and easy,

Nature of the roads thither.

[19] Diodor. l. xix. s. 18.

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along winding and pleasant valleys, confined between the branching ridges of mount Coronus[20], but scorched at that season by heat, and prolonged by the sinuosities of the mountain to a month's journey for an army. By this most frequented passage, he might reach the exuberant district of Choana[21], distinguished in ancient times by the great city Rages[22], and in later times by the Mahomedan capital Rey, second only to Bagdad, and whose greatness is still conspicuous in the amplitude of its ruins.[23] A second and much nearer road lay directly across the mountains; and was at all seasons exposed rather to cold than to heat. But this shorter march conducted through the rugged country of the fierce Cossæans, who, living fearless in caves on the roots growing in their glens, and on the salted produce of the chace, had been accustomed to sell a passage through their territory to the Persian kings, and whose ferocity had been chastised, not subdued, by the arms of Alexander. Antigonus, who aspired to rival the boldness of his late master, preferred

The Cossæans

[20] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. c. 6. and Ptolemy, l. vi. c. 1. But Wesselingius refuses to defend his conjecture of ὑπο Κορωνον, instead of επικολωνος.

[21] Choana surrounded the site of the modern city Koom, and extended in a north-east direction towards the Caspian strait, and Tehraun, the present Persian capital.

[22] Polyb. l. x. c. 4. Tobit, c. v. vi. Diodor. l. xix. s. 24.

[23] Chardin and Otter's Travels. Their amplitude only is remarkable; for the cities in central Asia, being built, chiefly, of bricks dried in the sun, leave behind them, when deserted, only mounds of earth or sand covered or intermixed with broken bricks or lacquered tiles.

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the direct and dangerous road; and disdaining the advice of Python, who was more conversant with those Barbarians, refused to purchase from them an unmolested passage. His proud obstinacy was severely punished. The Cossæans beat up his detached quarters; surprised his advanced parties; and by the dexterous use of their bows and slings, as well as by rolling down stones from the craggy summits of their rocks, greatly annoyed the main body of his army. At the end of nine days, he with difficulty escaped from these inhospitable fastnesses, having lost a great part of his force, and highly offended the remainder, by needlessly exposing it to fatigue and danger. But the country into which he emerged was calculated to repair, in some measure, the evils which his rashness had occasioned, and to still the angry murmurs of his troops. It lay at no great distance from the rich Nisæan plain[24], abounding in all necessaries

harass Antigonus's march.

[24] The most fertile and most beautiful portion of Media is that separated from Susiana by the continuation of mount Zagros, now called the mountains of Lauristan. It includes the celebrated Nisæan pastures, and extends eastward to Ecbatana, now Hamadan; and, in a south-east direction, towards Ispahan. Kermanshah is now the capital of the Nisæan plain, a flourishing town, containing twelve thousand houses. In a northern range of mountains, about six miles distant, there are caves containing figures and inscriptions resembling those near Persepolis, which will be described presently; and particularly an arch cut in the rock 60 feet high, 24 wide, and 20 deep, exhibiting, among other scenes, the hunting of the wild boar, in which the figures are conceived with a degree of taste and spirit, and executed with a degree of skill and ingenuity, far surpassing the powers of any inhabitants of Persia, since the destruction of the Greek dynasty. Prints of these sculptures are given in Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia.

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for an army, and whose spacious pastures were celebrated for horses unrivalled in size, beauty, and swiftness.[25]

Dissensions in Eumenes's army. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Eumenes had been prevented, by dissensions among his troops, and by the arrogance of Peucestes and other generals, whose presumption swelled with success, from availing himself of the decisive advantage which he had gained on the banks of the Coprates. Upon the intelligence that their enemies had entered Media, a new flame was kindled among these impetuous spirits, divided into two factions so equally balanced that they might have totally destroyed each other. The leaders of the Argyraspides, and all those who either possessed or coveted establishments in lower Asia, insisted on returning westward, and seizing the invaluable spoils which Antigonus had relinquished. Peucestes and Sibyrtius, on the contrary, with the other satraps who had joined the army in Susiana, maintained the necessity of defending the more extensive provinces of the East, and particularly the imperial district of Persis, upon which Antigonus, after repairing his strength in Media, would be ready to pour down with resistless fury. Eumenes, lest the army should be ruined by division, joined the party of Peucestes; and thereby deeply offended the Argyraspides.[26]

[25] Herodot. l. vii. c. 40. Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus. Yet Alexander's cavalry, as above mentioned, far surpassed them in speed.

[26] Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 21. and Plut. ubi supra.

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From the eastern branch of the Pasitigris, the first part of the journey towards the palaces of Pasagarda and Persepolis[27], lay through an adust and hollow[28] country, parched with drought, scorched by intense heat, and almost destitute of provisions. But when the army approached that imperial district, the country began at a place called the *ladder*[29], from the shelving ascent on which it stood, to assume a very different aspect, being open and airy, refreshed by copious streams, and beautifully diversified by hill and dale. Both sides of the road were adorned by those artificial parks, which the natives called paradises; or by lofty forests[30], and umbrageous valleys, whose natural beauties scorned art for an auxiliary. In fruit and game, the whole province abounded; it was also the most populous satrapy in the East; inhabited by the most[31] warlike nation; and

Eumenes marches to Persis.

Route thither.

[27] See Strabo, l. xv. p. 728, 729, & 730. Persepolis and the more ancient Pasagarda were both in the same district, namely, that of the Pasagardæ, the most illustrious tribe of the Persians. Herodot. l. i. c. 125. Conf. Plutarch de Virtut. Mulierum, p. 246, & Strabo, ubi supra.

[28] This epithet is common with ancient geographers, and enters into the name Cœle-Syria, &c. Strabo, Ptolemy, passim.

[29] A town in Savoy, near the Great Chartreux, has the same name from the same situation. Other *Climaces* or ladders are found in Strabo and Ptolemy, in their geography of Syria and Cilicia.

[30] Mr. Franklin, in his Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 65. mentions cypress-trees of an amazing height, which the Persians say have stood six hundred years.

[31] This character the inhabitants of Fars, the proper Persia, or Persis, still maintained in the time of Tamerlane. Mansour, prince of Fars, was the boldest enemy encountered by that destroying prince, between the Tigris and the Indus. Cherefeddin.

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Persepolis, its antiquities, &c. described.

that attached in affectionate duty to its governor Peucestes.[32] But a circumstance most propitious to the central district, the seat of the ancient Pasagarda, is the salubrity of the nocturnal air, which is so totally exempt from corroding dews, that the brightest steel may be exposed to it all night long, without undergoing the smallest perceptible alteration.[33] For thirty miles round, the country is studded with ruins; but those of Chelminar, supposed to be the ancient Persepolis, peculiarly arrest the traveller.[34] Chelminar, in modern Persian, denotes "the forty pillars," and the ruins when first discovered contained that number; they are now reduced to nineteen, though there are yet indications that they originally amounted to an hundred and eight.[35] The edifice to which they belong formed an artificial front, as it were, to the mountain Rehumut, which overlooks the beautiful plain of Merdasht.[36] This ruined palace extends nearly six hundred paces in both directions, and consists of three stories, composed of immense blocks of marble piled on each other without mortar or cement, yet so nicely compacted, that the keenest eye can seldom discern their joinings.[37] To the several

[32] Diodor. l. xix. s. 21.

[33] Mr. Franklin made the experiment. See his Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 153.

[34] Chardin, Le Brun, Niebuhr, Franklin, & D'Hankerville sur les Antiquités de la Perse.

[35] D'Hankerville, p. 155. [36] Franklin, p. 202.

[37] Conf. Voyage de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 200. et seq. & Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 120. et seq.

stories, you ascend by marble stairs of sufficient breadth for thirty or forty persons to mount conveniently abreast. The first flight, of fifty steps, leads to a portico, of which four pilasters remain, about fifty feet high, carved with fabulous animals of colossal magnitude, and with inscriptions in an ancient character, which the ablest antiquaries have not yet been able to decypher.[38] From the terrace supporting this portico, you ascend to the second story, adorned by colonnades of majestic loftiness, and conducting to various apartments, of which the inmost are raised on a third terrace, and their walls carved with the strange quadrupeds above mentioned, and with processions of human figures, some in flowing robes, others in succinct military garb. Behind this third story, and artfully cut in the native rock, you find two square chambers, of which the use may be suspected, from their resemblance to four others at Nackshi Rustan, eight miles north-east of Chelminar. Nackshi Rustan exhibits four apartments, excavated in a steep rock, and universally regarded as sepulchres of ancient kings. They contain bas-reliefs and inscriptions nearly coinciding with those at Chelminar, and equally

[38] These inscriptions are mixed with others of a far more recent date, bearing a reference to the dynasty of the Sassanides, who having supplanted the Parthians, governed Persia from An. Dom. 226., till they were destroyed by the Arabs, An. Dom. 638. See De Sacy, Memoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse. Paris, 1793. There are also later inscriptions belonging to the times of the Caliphs, in the usual strain of Mahometan piety.

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inexplicable. The modern Persians, by an easy solution, refer the whole of these remains to the ingenuity of the Peri[39] or Fairies; but history assures us, that the barbarous Cambyses, when he conquered Egypt, sent from thence the ablest architects and sculptors, that they might be employed in the embellishment of his cities and palaces.[40] The Egyptians, as we have seen, were fully equal to still greater undertakings. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the style of Egyptian architecture, as far as it now can be ascertained, had nothing of the lightness and airiness discernible in the ruins of Persepolis; their lofty terraces ascending above each other, their spacious stairs, and towering colonnades. But it must be remembered, that Egyptian Thebes contained houses four and five stories high[41]; and we cannot conclude, that its inhabitants disdained buildings of a slighter and more showy kind, because the sole remains of their architecture are confined to short massy pillars, with dark artificial caverns, as gloomy,

[39] D'Herbelot, article Esteckar. Chardin, tom. i. p. 305. says, the Persians ascribed the same works to the kaous or giants. M. Bailli, Astronomie Ancienne, p. 354. dates the foundation of Persepolis 3209 years before the Christian æra. The Indian observations are said to have begun about a century later, that is, 3101 before Christ: the Chinese 2952. But history, founded merely on astronomical phænomena, which by calculation may be extended forwards or backwards indefinitely, is totally unworthy of regard. A chapter in Aristotle, Meteorol. l. i. c. 14. dispels this wild illusion of portentous antiquity.

[40] Diodorus, l. i. s. 46. with Wesselingius's note, p. 55.

[41] Diodorus, l. i. s. 45.

but also as durable as the burrowing rocks of the neighbouring Troglodites.[42] CHAP. V.

The Persian kings should not seem to have resided any part of the year either at Pasagarda or Persepolis[43], but these ornamental edifices had been successively raised by them to the honour of their nation, in a district which they regarded as the cradle of their empire, which had been the scene of their decisive triumph over the Medes, and which thenceforward continued illustrious, both for the ceremony of their coronation and the solemnity of their funeral.[44] Their dead bodies, after being conveyed to Pasagarda, were raised by machinery, to be deposited in rocky and inaccessible monuments[45], a circum-

[42] My conjecture concerning the share of the Egyptians in the building of Persepolis, receives some confirmation from the blocks of marble, covered with hieroglyphics, often found by the Arabs in the mouldering ruins of Susa. Kinneir's Memoir, p. 100.

[43] Herodot. l. iii. c. 79. Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. p. 230. & Plutarch de Virtut. Mulier.

[44] Ctesias, Persic. c. 9. et seq. & Arrian, Expedit. Alexand. l. iii. c. 22. & l. vi. vers. fin.

[45] Diodorus, l. xvii. s. 71. This applies to the kings after Cyrus, mentioned by Ctesias; for that prince, though buried in the same district, was entombed in a lofty tower embowered amidst thick trees, Strabo, l. xv. p. 730. and Arrian, l. vi. c. 29. The Persians, as well as the Egyptians, called the tomb their eternal dwelling. Zendavesta, l. i. c. 27. On this notion, Mr. Heeren has built an ingenious theory for explaining the nature and design of the palaces of Pasagarda or Persepolis, since he considers them as one and the same place, whose ruins still remain at Chelminar. He thinks, that being the tombs, they are also the palaces of the deceased kings of Persia, provided with all the accommodations and luxuries which those princes enjoyed during life; with a large treasury and troops to guard it; and even with a haram, of which he adduces, as a proof, the multitude of fine women, and vast quantities of female attire found there by Alexander. Diodor. l. xvii. s. 72. In conformity

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stance well agreeing with the artificial caverns above mentioned: and which is farther confirmed by the report that these caverns were depositories of hidden treasure, since the custom of burying money with the dead, is said to have passed from Asia to Europe, and is certainly alike conformable to the superstition anciently prevalent in both continents. [46]

Peucestes's festival.

This sacred spot, the Persians had been at peculiar pains to defend. By an expedient above mentioned, they could summon to it in one day the whole force of the circumjacent country. The same arrangements for defence were still upheld by Peucestes, who had now governed Persis above seven years with much reputation, but who had no sooner decoyed the Greeks into his province, than he began to throw off the mask which had long concealed his unworthiness. His popular manners and generosity had gained the Persians; his military frankness and courage had deceived Alexander. By the ostentatious display of the same qualities, he endeavoured to win from Eumenes the affections

with this system, he regards the carvings on the walls, as a picture of the court and empire of Persia. Heeren, Ideen uber die Politik, &c. p. 194. et seq. D'Hankerville sur les Antiquités de la Perse, gives a quite different and far less interesting explanation of the same monuments.

[46] Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscrip. tom. xvi. p. 131. M. D'Hankerville justly maintains that the custom of burying new coins with the dead, accounts for the vast number of ancient medals in perfect preservation, notwithstanding their high relief. Arts de la Greece, v. ii. p. 46. et seq.

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of the soldiery, and particularly of the Macedonian veterans. For this purpose he proclaimed a sacrifice and festival for the European army, and the nobler portion of his Asiatic subjects; and, before the day arrived, had taken measures for distinguishing this solemnity by its regularity and its sumptuousness. Around the altars of the gods, and in four concentric circles, the numerous guests were arranged in such order, and so skilfully attended, that the vastness of the multitude occasioned neither confusion nor delay. The outmost circle, a mile in circumference, was occupied by the mercenaries and allies; the second, extending eight stadia, was assigned to the Argyraspides, and the other bodies of infantry who had served under Alexander[47]; the third of four stadia was appropriated to officers subordinate in command, the *companions*, and other select troops of horsemen; the inmost circle contained the commanders of the several divisions of horse and foot, together with the most distinguished of the Persian nobility. In the middle of the whole enclosure, the altars of Philip and Alexander shone conspicuous among those of the more ancient divinities. The guests commodiously reposed on couches of twisted leaves and osier, overhung with awnings, and profusely strewed with the richest carpets of Persia.[48]

[47] I cannot adopt Wesselingius's conjecture of ἑταίρων instead of ἑτέρων. The ἑτερων refers to the other bodies of the hyspaspists, who were the same kind of troops with the Argyraspides: the ἑταιροι are included among the horsemen mentioned immediately afterwards.

[48] Diodor. l. xix. s. 22.

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By which he endeavours to seduce the army from its allegiance. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B.C. 316.

This entertainment, highly congenial to the taste of the Greeks and Macedonians, was farther recommended by the cordial politeness of the master of the feast; which soon met its reward in the undisguised gratitude of the troops. Encouraged by Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia, and a creature of Peucestes, they began warmly to declare, that the man who had saved the life of Alexander, and attained the highest rank by the highest of all services, was alone worthy to command them. Eumenes had discovered the intrigues of his rival, and foreseen this dangerous defection. In order to countermine the plot, he produced forged letters from Orontes, governor of Armenia, and a warm friend to Peucestes, containing in few words, "that the kings and Polysperchon had fully re-established their authority in Europe; that Cassander, their most formidable enemy, was dead; and that a Macedonian army had crossed the Hellespont to co-operate with the exertions of a general, in whose courage and conduct the lawful successors of Alexander continued firmly to confide." This advice being industriously circulated through the whole assembly, produced a return to loyalty, not less universal than sudden; of which Eumenes availed himself to accuse Sibyrtius of treason, and thereby compelled that seditious satrap to consult his personal safety by flight. The success of his first stratagem encouraged the artful secretary to employ another formerly practised by his master Philip. In the midst of opulence, he pretended great want of money for

Eumenes defeats his designs.

the public service, and borrowed, in the name of the kings, large sums, at high interest, from Antigenes, Eudamus, and other generals; whose fidelity he was most solicitous to secure.[49]

Meets Antigonus on the frontier of Persis.

Meanwhile some Medes, actuated by hostility to Python rather than by zeal in the royal cause, brought advice of Antigonus's preparations for entering the province of Peucestes. Eumenes, instead of waiting for the invaders in Persis, determined to encounter them on their march thither. Towards the commencement of his expedition, he sacrificed to the gods, and gave a public entertainment, in which, having rivalled the popular magnificence of Peucestes, he was unfortunately betrayed into the intemperance of Alexander. This unseasonable debauch first suspended his march, and afterwards obliged him to be conveyed in a litter in the rear of the army. In such a disgraceful situation, he was informed by his scouts, that his enemies were advancing from the foot of the Parætacene mountains to the barren frontier of Persis and Media, two rival and often hostile provinces. In less than twenty-four hours their advanced guard made its appearance in regular array; for Antigonus had quickened their march upon learning from deserters his adversary's indisposition. Antigenes and Peucestes then led the van; but their troops had no sooner beheld the enemy, than they called aloud for Eumenes.

[49] Diodor. l. xix. s. 23. Cæsar had recourse to the same stratagem for securing the fidelity of his army in one of the most trying emergencies of the civil war. De Bell. Civil, l. i. c. 39.

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He hastened to their aid; and undrawing the curtains of his litter, was welcomed by the clangor of arms, and a salute in the Macedonian tongue: his presence had restored their spirits, and the precision of his orders skilfully arrayed them for battle. Their sudden alacrity astonished Antigonus, till espying the litter of Eumenes gliding briskly along the line, he exclaimed with the loud burst of laughter familiar to him, "Behold the machine which has produced these wonderful movements!" [50] Having expected to surprise the enemy, he thought proper to decline an immediate engagement; and Eumenes, perceiving the roughness of the intervening ground, did not molest his retreat, nor afterwards disturb his encampment.

Antigonus's embassy to the camp of Eumenes.

The armies thus remained four days within half a mile of each other, when, on the fifth, Antigonus sent an embassy to the satraps and other officers in the hostile camp, promising to maintain the former in their respective provinces, to grant lands and appointments to the latter; to take their troops into his immediate pay, and to send home, at his own expence, those Greeks and Macedonians who wished to revisit their native land. The admission of such an embassy, proved that Eumenes, however admired as a general, was not absolute as a master. But the propositions of Antigonus were rejected, his ambassadors were threatened; and Eumenes, while he allowed them to depart in safety, taught

[50] Plutarch in Eumen.

his soldiers, by an apologue, to applaud their own prudence in eluding the snare which had been laid for them. "A lion," he said, "loved a fair maiden, whose father opposed their marriage, lest the lion, in case of dissension, might be tempted to make too fierce an application of his claws and teeth; to obviate which objection, the amorous savage deprived himself of those formidable weapons, when, on the renewal of his petition, the father of the maid attacked and killed him with a club. Thus would you have been treated by Antigonus, had you hearkened to his proposal." [51]

Their mutual stratagems

On the day following, Eumenes was informed by deserters, that the enemy purposed to decamp at the second watch of the night. He justly suspected their intention of escaping to the fertile district of Gabiena in Elymais [52], watered by the upper part of the Eulæus. To anticipate this measure, he sent pretended deserters to Antigonus, with information that his lines would be attacked in the evening. While this intelligence obliged Antigonus to prepare for a battle instead of a retreat, Eumenes suddenly decamped; and proceeding with silence and celerity in the direction of Gabiena, gained an advance of six hours' march [53], before the enemy was apprised of his departure. Antigonus pursued with such speed as would have overtaken a less diligent adversary; but could

render a battle inevitable.

[51] Diodor. l. xix. s. 25. [52] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1080.

[53] Diodorus, as we shall see below, divides the night into three watches; by two of which Eumenes had got the start of the enemy.

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not recover his lost ground, until he had recourse to an artifice, rivalling the dexterity by which he had been distanced. Committing the infantry to Python, he drove forward at full speed with his cavalry; and continuing his pursuit all night, formed at dawn in such complete order, on the side of a hill near to which the enemy had to pass, that Eumenes, perceiving his dispositions, never doubted that his whole force was at hand. He therefore commanded a halt, and prepared for an engagement. Antigonus's infantry meanwhile advanced with a rapid and well regulated motion; and a battle, which had been long avoided by the skill or caution of both generals, the success of their mutual stratagems now rendered inevitable.

Battle at the foot of the Paræ-tacene mountains. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

Of all useless writing, and of all tiresome reading, there is none more obnoxious than the prolix detail of battles, fought by ordinary generals. But the struggle between Antigonus and Eumenes was an emulous exertion of talent, perpetually varied on one side, and successfully encountered on the other. In the present instance, too, their strength was pretty equally balanced; Antigonus having twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants; and Eumenes, though inferior to him by one-third in horse and foot, yet, commanding an hundred and twenty-five elephants, then deemed important auxiliaries; and what was of infinitely more real value, a body of three thousand veterans, perfected by experience, elated by military honours, confident

in their own energy, and from unchequered success, disdaining every enemy. His left wing Eumenes committed to Eudamus, who had brought with him a select troop[54] of horse as well as the elephants from India. Eudamus was reinforced by the cavalry under Stasander and Amphimachus[55], respectively satraps of Aria and Mesopotamia; by Cephalo, who had been substituted instead of the traitor Sibyrtius, to the command of the Arachosians; by five hundred horse from Paropamisus, and an equal number of Thracians from the Danube. The whole wing was covered in front by a crescent of forty elephants, intermixed with slingers and archers. The main body adjoining to this wing was composed, as usual, of the heavy-armed infantry, eleven thousand in number, of which one-half, though drawn from a wide variety of nations, were equipped in the Macedonian fashion. The *hyspaspists* stood next, a lighter infantry, amounting to six thousand, of which number the Argyraspides, those distinguished veterans just mentioned, immediately flanked the heavy-armed phalanx. This whole mass of infantry was also fronted by a bulwark of forty elephants. On the right wing Peucestes and Tlepolemus, satraps of Persis and Carmania, commanded their respective cavalry: they were flanked by Eumenes at the head of the *com-*

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[54] This troop is also called αγημα by Diodorus.

[55] Amphimachus, of whose junction with Eumenes, no mention is before made, had succeeded to Arcesilaus, the first Greek satrap of Mesopotamia. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3.

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panions, and other select troops of horse; the general choosing on this occasion the same post which had been always occupied by his master Alexander. This right wing, in which he greatly confided, was fronted by a line of forty-five elephants distinguished by their strength and fierceness.

Doubtful success.

The superiority of Eumenes in elephants determined Antigonus's arrangement. His left wing, destined rather for show than effect, was filled up with equestrian archers, and other horsemen armed with spears, two thousand five hundred Tarentines trained to loose skirmish, and Thracian vaulters leading respectively several horses, which they used by turns in their desultory assaults. The whole of this wing was entrusted to Python, satrap of Media, from whose province most of the cavalry had been drawn; and who was enjoined to harass Eumenes's right wing with a Scythian-like combat, often remitted and often renewed, incapable, indeed, of making any decisive impression, yet calculated to occupy that important division of the enemy. These irregulars were followed by the phalanx, consisting of nine thousand mercenaries; eleven thousand Lycians and Pamphylians, and other nations of Lower Asia, armed after the Macedonian fashion; and last of all eight thousand Macedonians. Antigonus, as well as Eumenes, assumed for his own post the command of his right wing, composed of the choice of his cavalry, particularly the *com-*

panions[56] commanded by his son Demetrius, and the first troop of which was headed[57] immediately by himself. This wing was fronted by the best of his elephants. The remainder defended his infantry; a very few only were placed in his left wing.

When the adverse armies had approached in this order within a proper distance of each other, the signal was raised on high; the troops shouted alternately, the trumpets sounded a charge. The irregulars in Antigonus's left, performed successfully their appointed service; and availing themselves of their velocity and numbers, harassed the enemy's flank, galling the elephants with their arrows, and after eluding their pursuit, again renewing the same desultory combat. But Eumenes seasonably drew a reinforcement of cavalry from his left; and by a vigorous charge, the more terrible, because followed by his elephants, dissipated those hovering clouds and pursued them towards the mountains. Meanwhile the infantry engaged with great spirit; the ardour on the weaker side, being inflamed to enthusiasm by the conscious worth of the Argyraspides, who upbraided their adversaries, as wretches who combated their fathers. The rapidity of this select body was

[56] The *companions* denoted under Alexander a particular body of men; but under his successors, who formed their armies as much as possible on their master's model, the same technical term denoted different bodies of men in different armies, all bearing the same name, because performing the same functions.

[57] The αγημα, otherwise called the αγη βασιλικη, because usually commanded by Alexander in person.

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equal to its firmness; and wherever these veterans assailed, their exertions were decisive. Antigonus, when both his main body and his left wing had given way, was advised to move towards the mountains and endeavour to cover the retreat. But the impetuosity of the Argyraspides, in urging the pursuit, had left unsupported the division commanded by Eudamus. Antigonus seized the decisive moment; rushed into the opening with the flower of his cavalry, and by an attack in flank put to rout the whole of this left wing. The swiftest of his horse were dispatched to collect his own fugitives, whom the alternation of victory enabled him to rally and form at the foot of the mountains. Eumenes, perceiving the defeat of his left wing, returned with his cavalry from the pursuit, and also recalled his infantry. Before either army was again prepared for battle, night had come on; but it was then full moon; the sky was clear and serene; and the hostile lines stood so near to each other[58], that they could mutually perceive the distinct flashes of adverse steel, and hear the clang of weapons, the neighing of horses, and the roaring of elephants.

Burial of the slain.

Eumenes, whose loss of men had been inconsiderable, compared with that of his opponent, might have renewed the engagement with advantage; but by the mutinous temper of his troops, he was diverted from this purpose; and

[58] Only four πλεθρα asunder, that is, 400 feet; but the πλεθρον, as a measure of length, is estimated differently by Suidas and Hesychius.

even defeated in the design of interring the slain.[59] The Argyraspides, whose piety had diminished as much as their avarice had encreased, during their long warfare in the East, preferred to a duty deemed most sacred by the Greeks, the care of their baggage and booty, the rich fruits of their Asiatic victories. Their unalterable obstinacy decided the resolution of the whole army, which proceeded with them towards the baggage, while Antigonus moved in an opposite direction, and encamped near the scene of action; by which means he gained an opportunity of burying his slain next morning, whereas Eumenes was reduced to the necessity of craving leave to perform that indispensable ceremony. His herald sent with this view to Antigonus, was detained by him the greater part of the day, and dismissed with the permission of returning next morning. But by this time, Antigonus, having sent his wounded, above four thousand in number, and the heaviest part of his baggage, into neighbouring villages, had secretly decamped, and was hastening to the fertile district of Gamorga in Media. Eumenes, whose men were tired and discontented, did not attempt to pursue the enemy, but immediately began to perform the obsequies of the dead, five hundred and forty foot, and a few horsemen. During this sad solemnity, two Indian women, who had lost their common husband Ceteus, an officer of distinction among the

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Singular contention between two In-

[59] Diodor. l. xix. s. 31.

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dian women.

Indian auxiliaries, exhibited a new spectacle to the Greeks, by disputing the honour of being burnt alive on his funeral pile. As the elder was discovered to be with child, her rival gained the preference. Transported with joy at this event, she was gaily arrayed by her attendants, who accompanied her to the scene of suffering, celebrating her virtues by song. Upon arriving at the foot of the pyre, she removed with much composure her bracelets, her necklaces, her rings, and the variegated ornaments of her head; and bestowed them successively with a tender embrace on the companions whom she most loved. Her brother aided her in ascending the lofty pyre. She affectionately reclined on the breathless remains of her husband.[60] The match was lighted; her golden tissue was in flames: she suffered death without a moan to impeach her constancy, or a start to distort her beauty. All compassionated her fate; most admired her fortitude; yet several Greeks reproached the customs of India as bespeaking only the dire superstition of ignorant and perverse barbarians.[61]

Antigonus's bold and dexterous march.

After the funeral solemnity, Eumenes prepared for marching from the inhospitable neighbourhood of the Parætacene mountains; and for fixing, according to his first resolution, his winter-quarters in Gabiena, a district not yet foraged by either party, and well calculated both for refreshment and security. He advanced

[60] Diodor. l. xix. s. 34. [61] Ibid.

successfully and encamped at his journey's end. In this position his army by the ordinary route was distant twenty-five marches from Antigonus's post in Gamorga; but there was a much nearer road between them, of only nine marches, through an intricate and desert country, almost destitute of water. While both parties continued in their winter-quarters, Antigonus learned that great discontents prevailed among his enemies, their generals disagreeing about the command, the soldiers unwilling to obey, and that various bodies of troops, discordant in their minds, had widely separated their cantonments. Upon this information, having determined to surprise their nearest posts, he industriously gave out that he intended to move towards Armenia, but collected necessaries for a far more dangerous journey; consisting in ten days' provisions, of that kind which required not any preparation by fire.[62] Thus unencumbered, he marched five days, without striking a light, through the unfrequented and dreary region above-mentioned, totally unobserved by the thinly-scattered inhabitants of the distant mountains. But his soldiers, growing weary of a precaution which their presumption deemed superfluous, finally alarmed by a nocturnal light the remote villagers; one of whom mounting his dromedary, which could travel a hundred and thirty miles in twenty-four

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[62] The σιτα απυρα of Diodorus are mentioned by Plutarch in Sertorio, and de Gloria Athen. and by Polyænus, l. viii. c. 16. and by Suidas.

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hours, seasonably apprised Eumenes of his unforeseen danger.

Eumenes's stratagem stops the progress of the enemy.

The troops of this general were scattered over a distance of six marches; and Peucestes, who was stationed near the skirts of the country through which the enemy had to pass, purposed to fall back on the remoter cantonments. Eumenes, who apprehended lest this movement should discourage the troops, and who wished to meet his opponents as they emerged from the fatigues of the desert, devised an expedient for stopping their progress until his own army should have time to assemble in full force. With this view he selected a sufficient body of men, equipped for expedition, which he commanded to follow him, well provided with fire-pots. This body he diffused over the space of six miles, on the side of a mountain conspicuously situate with regard to the enemy's route, with orders to make large fires at the first watch of the night, to diminish them at the second, and to allow them towards the third gradually to die away, so as to afford to spectators at a distance the appearance of a real encampment. Such it was supposed by the inhabitants of the opposite mountains, who first beheld it, and such it was declared by Antigonus and Python, who firmly believed that the vigilance of Eumenes, having discovered their line of march, had caught them in their own snare. In order to avoid an action with the enemy's whole force, after the fatigues of a long and laborious march, Antigonus led off his army towards a well-cultivated

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country on his right; a movement begun with much circumspection, but continued without the appearance of any forces to intercept his stragglers or to harass his rear. From this circumstance, he began to suspect that his fears had deceived him; and his suspicion was converted into certainty by the people of the adjacent district, who told him that they had not seen any great army, and only a few companies of soldiers scattered at great distances, who made fires on the hills.

His precaution saves the detachment escorting the elephants.

Stung with indignation at losing the fruits of his painful and well-concerted march, Antigonus advanced furiously against those soldiers, that although he could no longer hope to surprise the main body of the enemy, he might at least wreak his vengeance on the authors of his disappointment. But this design was also defeated by the celerity of his rival, whose scattered divisions had already been drawn from their quarters, and collected into one camp, judiciously chosen and strongly fortified. Antigonus, with these mortifying circumstances, learned, however, that the enemy's elephants were still behind. To intercept these stout auxiliaries, in whose numbers Eumenes most surpassed him, he immediately dispatched the whole of his light infantry, with a due proportion of horsemen, chiefly Medes and Tarentines. This active body of troops intercepted, attacked, and routed the detachment of hostile cavalry accompanying the elephants, while these ponderous animals, who formed an oblong, en-

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closing the baggage, continually received wounds which their conductors were unable to retort. But during this disastrous combat, a sudden reinforcement came to their rescue, most seasonably dispatched by Eumenes, who, though he knew not the measures of Antigonus, yet, knowing his own duty as a general, anticipated a probable evil, by providing an assured remedy.

Conspiracy formed against him.

The illustrious merit of the commander which encreased the general admiration of the troops, envenomed into deadly hatred the envy of their leaders. Under the immediate apprehension of a battle, for the hostile armies had encamped at an interval of only four miles, and Antigonus longed to decide this obstinate contest, the haughty Peucestes, and the turbulent Teutamus, conspired against the life of Eumenes, whose just pre-eminence was singularly attested by those rancorous enemies, since they agreed to defer his murder, till he had defeated their common foe. The conspiracy was revealed to him by other generals, who had been invited to join in it; and who were withheld from that measure, not by such affectionate duty as the kind courtesy of Eumenes peculiarly merited, but merely through the fear of losing, by his death, the money which they had lent to him at high interest.[63] Upon this distressing information, he lamented his hard lot in living among wild beasts; and retired sad and solitary to his tent, where he wrote his testament, and burned

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such of his papers, as might have endangered the persons who had communicated to him any matters of secret intelligence. Whatever might be the consequence to himself, he determined to resist Antigonus, the enemy of his revered master's house; and with an alacrity of countenance, marking a heart void of care, made most skilful arrangements for his last fatal victory. [64]

The last battle between Antigonus and Eumenes.

Since the former battle on the Median frontier, he had received some reinforcements, which rendered him, in point of infantry, superior to the enemy: but he was still inferior by one-third in horse. Antigonus's army had been again recruited to nearly twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, and sixty-five elephants. Accompanied by his son Demetrius, that general took the command of his right wing; his left was committed to Python: his infantry formed the centre, covered in front by the elephants. To oppose Antigonus in person, Eumenes, contrary to the usual practice, assumed the command of his left, consisting of the choice of his cavalry, and supported by auxiliaries under the bravest satraps, particularly Mithridates of Pontus. His left wing was fronted by sixty of his stoutest elephants. His infantry, which followed, consisted of three divisions; the *hypaspists* on the left; the phalanx on the right; and the Argyraspides in the middle, prepared to move with celerity to

[64] Plutarch in Eumen. & Diodor. l. xix. s. 40.

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every part of the line, where they saw a difficulty to surmount, or a desperate adversary to encounter. In his right wing, Eumenes placed under Philip, satrap of Bactria[65], the least serviceable part of his cavalry and elephants in a diverging line, with orders to occupy, if possible, the opposing division of the enemy, but chiefly to watch the issue of the contest. Before the signal for charge was given on either side, the Argyraspides sent a herald on horseback, to reproach their adversaries with disloyalty and parricide, and at the same time hurled against them a furious defiance, which as much encouraged the one army as it terrified the other. When the trumpets sounded, the troops of Eumenes charged with intrepid alacrity; and his elephants had been roused to such fury, that the foremost fell by the stroke which its impetuous weight had inflicted.[66] But Antigonus's great superiority in horse, began to make the more decisive impression on Eumenes's left wing, as that general, while exerting himself with the utmost bravery, was feebly supported by Peucestes and other envious satraps. The battle might have been lost irretrievably, had not the exertions of the Argyraspides surpassed every thing most memorable in the annals of heroism. With invincible perseverance, these veterens, who were some of them above seventy years old, and few under sixty, successively attacked, and either repelled or cut down, every part of the

[65] Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. s. 3. and l. xix. s. 40.

[66] Diodor. l. xix. s. 42.

opposing line: and without the loss of a single man, (such was their skill and the completeness of their armour,) destroyed above five thousand of their foes[67]: a circumstance wonderful, not incredible; because, in the close combats of infantry, the nature of ancient weapons, leaving no alternative between a skirmish and a bloody rout, might produce dreadful havoc among the vanquished, with little or no loss to the victors.

Incident which provoked the Argyraspides and made them revolt to Antigonus.

Meanwhile, Eumenes had drawn a reinforcement from his right wing, hoping to renew the equestrian combat. But in this he was disappointed by an unforeseen disaster, which produced speedily his own ruin, and eventually the ruin of the royal cause. It happened that the field of battle was covered with a fine sand, impregnated with salt, which, being raised on high by the trampling of the horses, was carried in a thick cloud toward the left of Eumenes's line, intercepting all prospect in that direction. Of this circumstance, Antigonus had availed himself, even in the heat of action, to detach secretly his active Medes and fleet Tarentines, who had turned unperceived the enemy's left, overpowered the feeble guard protecting the women and baggage, and rendered themselves completely masters of both. This event, mortifying to all, provoked the Argyraspides to madness. In vain, they said, their valour had been exerted in defeating Antigonus's infantry; his horse had stripped

[67] Diodor. l. xix. s. 43.

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them of the fruits of twenty victorious campaigns, and had robbed them of their wives and children.[68]

Eumenes seized and slain.

The situation of Eumenes was deplorable. A dark conspiracy hung over his head: his allied satraps, alarmed for their particular safety, were anxious to fly to their respective provinces: his cavalry had severely suffered in the action; and his victorious infantry refused to renew the attack; but forming themselves into an oblong, presented on all sides defiance and terror, to any force by which they might be assailed. They reproached the cowardice of their own cavalry, they arraigned the defection of Peucestes, they accused the neglect of their general. In vain, Eumenes endeavoured to convince them, that by improving their victory, they might still regain all that was lost. They insulted him as a vile Thracian; and, to recover their families and effects, were prepared to accept an accommodation on any terms. To conciliate Antigonus, who withdrew his cavalry at the approach of night, the Argyraspides, on the suggestion of Teutamus, leader in every mischief, embraced the flagitious resolution of disarming and seizing their commander; regardless of his incomparable merit, and of the commission which he then bore, under the lawful representatives of their venerated sovereign.[69]

Death of Eumenes, and fate of

Eumenes was thus delivered into the hands of an ancient friend, converted through disloyal

[68] Diodor. et Plut. ubi supra.

[69] Diodor. l. xix. s. 43. and Plutarch in Eumen.

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ambition into an implacable enemy. Demetrius, the accomplished son of Antigonus, and Nearchus, justly famous for his voyage from the Indus to the Tigris, warmly interceded for the life of Eumenes [70], whose merits their own enabled them duly to appreciate. But Antigonus was swayed by policy alone: he knew that Eumenes, while he lived, would resist his usurpation; and the insolent Argyraspides, as well as the perfidious satraps, urged the death of a man whom they had most cruelly injured. [71]

his adherents. Olymp. cxiv. 1. B. C. 316.

Of all Alexander's captains, Eumenes died the youngest; though, of them all, he was the worthiest of a long and prosperous life. From the age of twenty, he had officiated seven years as secretary to Philip: in the same capacity he served Alexander thirteen years, and died eight years after the latter prince [72], at the age of forty-eight, in an honourable warfare for preserving the crown in his master's family. His letters continued extant in the beginning of the second century, and attested a mind that united, with great elevation and energy, the milder and gentler virtues: indulgent humanity, cordial friendship, a natural and persuasive eloquence. [73]

[70] Idem ibid.

[71] Plutarch and Nepos have added some circumstances not very consistent with indubitable matters of fact; and thrown in by way of embellishment, or with a view to palliate the cruelty of Antigonus.

[72] The number in Nepos is forty-five: but it must be erroneous, even by his own computation. Conf. Nepos in Eumen. and Diodor. l. xix. s. 42.

[73] Plutarch in Eumen.

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His friend and fellow-citizen, Hieronymus of Cardia, a town in the Thracian Chersonesus, who had been wounded and taken prisoner in the battle, sacrificed resentment to interest, and, after the death of Eumenes, passed into the protection and confidence of his fortunate rival.[74] Yet Jerom appears to have retained a strong and just predilection in favour of his earlier patron; and from his history of Alexander's successors, we have been enabled to describe those memorable campaigns, and to relate those splendid achievements, which in consideration of the upright purposes to which they were invariably directed, raise the fair fame of the Cardian above all contemporary renown. The fate of Eumenes involved that of Eudamus, Cephalo, and Antigenes; the only generals who disdained submission to Antigonus. Antigenes, who maintained unshaken loyalty amidst the unanimous defection of the Argyraspides, was distinguished by the inhuman cruelty of his punishment: being nailed up in a coffer, he was burnt alive.[75] The monster, who perpetrated this

[74] Diodor. l. xix. s. 44.

[75] Id. ibid. Two stories are told of Antigenes, which, though little honourable to him in other respects, serve to account for his invincible loyalty. When Alexander paid the debts of his soldiers, Antigenes pretended to owe a larger sum than was really due by him, and got a banker or merchant, accompanying the army, to attest his lie by a false receipt. The fraud was detected; Antigenes was cashiered; but his disgrace being likely to break his heart, Alexander restored him to his rank, and even desired him to retain the money, that had overcome his honesty, as the reward of his conspicuous valour. Plut. in Alexand. p. 590. On another occasion, Antigenes procured his registration among the old and

horrid enormity, celebrated with decent sorrow the obsequies of Eumenes; and sent his ashes, enclosed in a silver urn, to his disconsolate wife and deploring kindred.[76] CHAP. V.

wounded, who were to be conducted back to Greece. The king, unwilling to part with him, desired to know his real motive for wishing to retire. Antigenes acknowledged that he could not bear separation from Telesippé. "Who," Alexander said, "is the woman, and to whom does she belong?" Antigenes answered, "She belongs to no one, but is her own mistress." "That being the case," rejoined the king, "we shall contrive means for making her remain with us." Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. l. ii. p. 339.

[76] Plut. and Diodor.

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Antigonus usurps the Protectorship. — His cruel Policy. — He destroys the Argyraspides. — Murders Python and Peucestes. — Invades Babylonia. — Seleucus's Flight into Egypt. — Wars in Lesser Asia, in Greece, and in Thrace. — Antigonus's vast Projects. — Battles of Gaza and Myons. — Egyptians expelled from Syria. — Nabathæan Arabs. — Their History and Institutions. — Ill Success of Demetrius against them. — Seleucus recovers Babylonia. — Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks. — General Peace.

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Antigonus usurps the protectorship in Asia. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

From the death of Alexander to that of Eumenes, only eight years had elapsed; but that narrow span is wonderfully magnified in fancy, by the multiplicity of events, the variety of actors, and the importance of revolutions. The protectoral sceptre, which had been feebly sustained by the old age of Antipater, which had trembled in the hands of Python and Aridæus, and which had just dropped from those of Polysperchon, was a two-edged and bloody sword when wielded by Perdiccas and by Antigonus, respectively the first, and last, who held it. When Polysperchon appointed Eumenes imperial commander in Asia, he promised to assist him, if necessary, with a great European army. But he was so little qualified to fulfil this promise, that he soon found his inability to defend Macedon

itself against the activity of Cassander. The destruction of Eumenes, and the disgrace of Polysperchon, thus enabled Antigonus to avail himself of his obsolete commission from Antipater, of lieutenant to the protector in the East; with this, he immediately usurped the whole power of the protectorship itself[1], and abused it, as we shall see presently, with daring injustice and execrable cruelty.

Occupies the district of Ragas in Media.

Having reinforced his army with the treacherous deserters from Eumenes, he determined to quit the inhospitable mountains of Elymais, and to winter in Media. In that noble province, he took up his quarters in a village near Ecbatana containing a royal palace[2], and distributed the greater part of his troops in the fertile district of Ragas above mentioned, a name probably derived from the oriental Raga[3], but

[1] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 48.

[2] Diodorus, xix. 44. At Kungawur, distant forty-five miles from Ecbatana on the way to Kermanshah, there are ruins of an edifice of great extent, and constructed with extraordinary solidity. The parts of the walls which remain are built of large hewn stones. Trunks of seven pillars are still standing, and fragments are scattered in every direction. The natives of the village say, that there were once four hundred of these pillars, and that the palace was originally built by the Gins, or Genii. Kinneir's Memoir, p. 129. The distance of Kungawur from Ecbatana, 19 schoeni, agrees exactly with that of the village of Koncobar, as given by Isidore of Charax. It was famous for a temple of Diana. In the road between Kungawur and Kermanshah, there is an overhanging rock, Besittoon, with carved figures and inscriptions, which, from a circumstance told of Semiramis in her march to Ecbatana, have been ascribed to that queen. Comp. Diodorus, xix. 110. Otter, i. c. 17.

[3] Translated Rages, book of Tobit, c. i. v. 14. & c. iv. v. i.

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believed by the Greeks to denote the *rending*[4] earthquake, which totally changed the aspect of the circumjacent country; levelling mountains, scooping out lakes, obstructing rivers, and producing new mountains, lakes, and rivers, in the stead of those which had vanished. This earthquake is said to have overwhelmed many cities[5], and two thousand villages. The labours of man were repaired; but the changes in the face of nature have been permanent, and not altogether useless, could we believe that the important defile, called the Caspian Gates, connecting that inland sea with the central provinces of Asia, was the salutary effect of this dreadful convulsion.[6]

Destruction of the Argyraspides.

Immediately after his inglorious victory, Antigonus had punished with death the intrepid fidelity of Antigenes. Other loyalists of less renown shared the same fate, particularly Eudamus, who commanded the detachment from India. While he thus punished his enemies, he determined also to disencumber himself of all suspicious friends. The *Argyraspides*, to whose treachery he was so deeply indebted, were artfully disembodied; and committed in divisions to Sibyrtius, governor of Arachosia, and other obscure satraps, with strict injunctions, that their courageous old age should be consumed by

[4] Ραγας, fissura, Strabo, l. xi. p. 783.

[5] Πολεις συχνας. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 46. and Strabo, l. i. p. 103. & l. xi. p. 783.

[6] See D'Hankerville, Origine des Arts de la Grece, v. ii. c. 2.

danger and labour, so that they might never again collect into any formidable force. In this manner an important division of the veteran army of Alexander melted away in Asia, without obtaining its fond wish of revisiting the beloved shores of Greece and Macedon.[7] CHAP. VI.

Deception and death of Python.

Antigonus had been joined by two generals of the name of Python; one son to Crateas, the other to Agenor. The son of Agenor reinforced, as we have seen, his old friend Antigonus, at the same time that Eudamus, joint superintendant over Indian affairs, brought a considerable addition to the royal army. This Python continued thenceforward a stedfast adherent to Antigonus, and was one of his ablest officers. But Python, the son of Crateas, who had formerly shared the protectorship, and recently, as governor of Media, had aspired to empire in the East, was not of a temper to act tamely a second part. While Antigonus occupied the fertile country adjacent to Ragas, Python fixed his quarters at a distance near the southern extremity of Media; and availing himself of the resources of a country, in which he had many adherents, began to cabal against a master whose cruelty to others he had witnessed, and whose speedy vengeance he was himself destined

[7] Polyænus, l. iv. c. 6. Voc. Antigon. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 48. Plutarch in Eumen. vers. finem. Diodorus observes, "that impious deeds, however useful to men in power, as subservient to their ambition, generally prove ruinous to the instruments by whom they are perpetrated."

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to experience. The crafty tyrant affected to disbelieve any unfavourable reports of so gallant an officer, and so meritorious a coadjutor. He industriously announced his intention of marching into Lower Asia, and rewarding the services of his friend with supreme command in the eastern provinces. This purpose was declared to Python himself, in a letter containing warm expressions of affection, and presenting to his lofty thoughts the most bewitching prospects. Caught in a snare into which the blindness of ambition only could have fallen, Python hastened to join the standard of Antigonus, and to meet his fate. In one short day, he was accused, condemned, and executed. His rich satrapy was bestowed on Orontabates, a Mede, controuled, however, by the Macedonian Hippastratus, commanding three thousand five hundred of his warlike countrymen. Having made this arrangement for governing the finest province of the empire, Antigonus proceeded to Ecbatana, the capital of Media, drew five thousand talents from the treasury in its citadel, and prepared for a laborious march of twenty-five days to Pasagarda, the imperial district of Persia.[8]

Antigonus's march to Susa through Persis—

Peucestes, the satrap of that country, had no sooner learned the defection of the Argyraspides after Eumenes's last battle, than he surrendered himself to Antigonus with ten thousand

[8] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 46.

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Persians. He now accompanied the conqueror in firm hopes of being reinstated by him in his province. But Antigonus had far other views; in which he was confirmed on beholding the populousness and plenty of this favoured land, which, under the Persian dynasty, had been cherished with paternal affection, and adorned with royal munificence. Its inhabitants, ostentatious and vain of their pre-eminence, delighted in the expensive splendour of Peucestes, which recalled to them the memory of their ancient kings. Notwithstanding many odious vices, the satrap of Persia had carefully followed Alexander's maxim of respecting the habits, and even humouring the prejudices, of his subjects. His adoption of their dress and fashions gained him great popularity. Antigonus, therefore determined that this satrap should no longer govern them. Asclepiodorus, a creature of his own, was substituted to Peucestes: the change excited faint murmurs among a people enured to despotism; while the deposed governor himself, partly deceived by vain hopes, and partly intimidated through Antigonus's resistless power, condescended to follow the standard of his oppressor towards Susiana[9], and is thenceforward unnoticed in history. Python and Peucestes were officers of the highest rank in Alexander's service; the latter being a *life-guard*, and the former both a *life-guard* and *companion*. The

destruction of Peucestes. Olymp. cxvi. 1. B. C. 316.

[9] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 48.

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bounties of their discerning master, together with the boldness and enterprise by which they had deserved them, are the only topics in their favour: their name was high as soldiers; but in prudence and sagacity they were far surpassed by Seleucus, a much younger man than either, and who now formed the main obstacle to Antigonus's designs in the East.

Antigonus soothes Seleucus, and gets possession of the Susian fortress — its riches.

Before leaving Persia, that crafty usurper made a new distribution of the provinces, artfully confirming in their authority all those satraps whom his arm was unable to reach. With this view he wrote in friendly terms to Oxyartes, father-in-law to Alexander, who commanded in Paropamisus, as well as to Stasander and Tlepolemus, respectively governors of the outlying countries of Bactria and Carmania; although the forces of all these satraps had served against himself under Eumenes in the royal army. To Seleucus, he assigned not only Babylonia, already in his possession, but annexed to it the contiguous province of Susiana. This valuable portion of the rich Assyrian plain had been proposed by Polysperchon as a reward to Antigenes, commander of the Argyraspides; who, it was intended, should obtain the satrapy of Susiana, as soon as his successful co-operation with Eumenes had suppressed Antigonus's rebellion. But the cruel punishment of the intended governor had made room for the annexation just mentioned. Antigonus now marched in a peaceful manner towards the possessions of a man whom he had

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so greatly benefited, and was met on the banks of the Pasitigris, by Zenophilus, commander of the Susian citadel, who, at the express desire of Seleucus, came to put into the hands of the new protector the keys of that strong-hold. Antigonus gladly accepted a present of which he knew the full value. He treated Zenophilus with distinguished regard, and proceeded with him to his fortress, from whence he carried away fifteen thousand talents. He had collected ten thousand talents in Media and Persia; so that the whole of his pecuniary acquisitions fell little short of seven millions sterling. They consisted in silver, and were transported on camels.[10]

Antigonus marches to Babylonia. — Seleucus's flight to Egypt. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B.C. 315.

In twenty-two days, he marched from Susa to Babylon. In the latter city he was honoured by Seleucus with royal presents, and his whole army was entertained with unbounded hospitality. But, on the slight pretence of an injury done by Seleucus to one of his officers, he chose to be much offended, and demanded from the Babylonian satrap an account of his revenues. Seleucus saw that celerity was requisite to avoid the fate of Python and Peucestes. He escaped in the night with forty horsemen, and by rapid journeys travelled above nine hundred miles to seek the protection of Ptolemy in Alexandria.[11] Antigonus did not at first endeavour to intercept his flight: it seemed a piece of good fortune to

[10] Diodor. l. xix. s. 48.

[11] Appian, Syriac. cap. 55. and Diodorus, l. xix. s. 55.

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have rid himself so easily of an enemy, whose mild government had endeared him to the Babylonians. He was now master of the rich central provinces of Asia. In Europe, Cassander was his ally. Ptolemy might reign in Egypt and Cyrené, and from thence extend his arms over the barren sands of Libya. Lysimachus might consolidate his bleak and barbarous kingdom of Thrace. But from the Grecian sea to the Indus, Antigonus was determined to allow of no power but his own; to crush every obnoxious vassal, to break every unbending rival. These lofty thoughts were however abashed by the Chaldæan priests who had prophesied to Seleucus the empire of Asia. When Antigonus learned this prediction, though less enslaved by superstition than most of his contemporaries, he instantly sent a nimble detachment of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. But Seleucus and his attendants, carried on the wings of fear, escaped its grasp, and arrived safely in Egypt, where they were received with open arms by Ptolemy, who readily joined with Seleucus in an embassy to Lysimachus and Cassander, arraigning the tyranny of Antigonus, the common and unrelenting foe of all who enjoyed any pre-eminence in the empire.[12]

Asander's successful opposition to Antigonus in Les-

Ptolemy's conduct may have been influenced by that compassion for Seleucus, to which it is wholly ascribed by historians: but the character

[12] Appian, Syriac. cap. 55. and Diodorus, l. xix. s. 55.

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of Ptolemy, whose humanity was never at variance with sound policy, combined with the condition of Lower Asia at that crisis, will reveal to us a less generous but more vigorous motive. During the three years that Antigonus had pursued his victorious career in the great countries of the East, Asander, governor of Caria, the most considerable enemy that he had left behind him in the Asiatic peninsula, had maintained an unremitted and successful struggle not only for keeping possession of his valuable province, but for extending his authority over Lycia and other parts of the contiguous coast.[13] Encouraged by repeated advantages over Antigonus's generals, he had even penetrated into the heart of the peninsula, and aspired to the complete conquest of Cappadocia.[14] The events of this warfare, forming but a subordinate plot in the bloody drama, are not circumstantially described. It appears, however, that the operations in Lower Asia had been carried on by sea as well as by land, and that the maritime enterprises of Asander had been peculiarly fortunate; since Antigonus at his return to Cilicia found scarcely a single galley remaining of the large and victorious fleet of which he was in possession, three years before, at his departure from the sea-coast in pursuit of Eumenes.

ser Asia. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

Ptolemy, who was well acquainted with these

Ptolemy's motives for

[13] Diodor. l. xix. s. 75. calls him master of Asia, ὁ της Ασιας κυριευων. Conf. l. xix. s. 62.

[14] Id. 58. et seq.

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raising opposition to Antigonus.

transactions, in which, perhaps, he had secretly co-operated, also knew that Antigonus's power would be strenuously exerted for recovering his lost dominions in the peninsula, and for raising a new fleet. For attaining both purposes, his readiest means would be the invasion of Cæle-Syria and Phœnicia, provinces that would lie at the mercy of the great army accompanying Antigonus from the East; and which, by supplying transports or the materials for constructing them in any number, would enable him more easily to crush Asander in Caria and Lycia by invading the sea-coast, than by laborious marches across the mountains. But Cæle-Syria and Phœnicia were essential appendages to Egypt, if Egypt ever aspired to become a great maritime power. In espousing the cause of Seleucus, Ptolemy, therefore, was in fact providing for the defence of his own. He foresaw the evils ready to assail him, and created a confederacy to resist them.

Mutual embassies between Antigonus and his enemies. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

Meanwhile, Antigonus, as if he had felt similar alarms to those which he inspired, sent ambassadors to Cassander with a view to consolidate more firmly the alliance long subsisting between them. He dispatched others to Ptolemy and Lysimachus, desiring a continuance of their amity, and explaining in the most favourable manner whatever might appear criminal in his late proceedings in the East. But while he seemed thus to invite their friendship, he made vigorous preparations for resisting their hostility. Having placed Python, the son of Agenor, in

the vacant satrapies of Seleucus, Antigonus marched towards Cilicia, drew from the fortress of Kuinda ten thousand talents, collected eleven thousand[15] from the governors recently appointed by him in the East, and hastened towards Syria[16] to carry into execution his designs against that country. In his progress thither, he was overtaken by ambassadors from the allied princes. They explained the demands of their respective masters. Seleucus demanded the restitution of his provinces. Ptolemy required that his right to Syria should be acknowledged. Lysimachus insisted on the annexation of the Lesser Phrygia to Thrace, that he might command both sides of the Hellespont. Asander[17], satrap of Caria, who had heartily entered into the confederacy, was determined to maintain his conquests in Lycia and Cappadocia. Cassander, recently in alliance with Antigonus, to whom chiefly he owed his great success in Macedon and Greece, appeared contented with his possessions in these countries; but joined with the allies in urging one most important point, that the sums of money taken from the royal treasuries should be faithfully accounted for and equitably divided.[18] To these

[15] The two sums collectively exceed the value of 4,000,000*l.*

[16] Historians speak of Syria in general, not mentioning, without necessity, its divisions into Syria Proper, Cæle-Syria, Palæstinian Syria, and Phœnicia.

[17] His name is so written by Arrian apud Phot. p. 226. The transcribers of Diodorus write Cassander, which has given occasion to the general error of making one person of two men, whose parts in history were extremely different, and each highly important.

[18] Diodor. l. xix. s. 57.

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Antigonus's final answer to the confederates. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B.C. 315.

multifarious demands Antigonus made one general and short answer, "he was actually marching against Ptolemy, and after he had settled his differences with that satrap, would proceed in due time to deal with his perfidious and insolent confederates." As the ambassadors were departing from Antigonus, they were met by his son Demetrius, then in his nineteenth year, just returned from hunting. Slightly regarding the strangers, and without laying aside his javelins, Demetrius flew to embrace his father: "Tell this also," said the old man, "at your return to your several masters, that they may know on what terms I live with my son;" an observation expressive of the odious character of the times, when fathers feared to be embraced by their armed children, and prophetic, according to the superstition of antiquity, of the wonderful harmony that afterwards prevailed in the family of Antigonus, which reigned an hundred and twenty years in Macedon with only one example of parricide.[19]

Importance of that transaction.

The transaction just related, though conducted with little formality, was attended with momentous consequences, whether we regard the vastness of their extent, or the length of their duration. In Antigonus's answer to the embassy of the allied princes, the knot was tied of a memorable drama, involving the fortunes of mankind from the Hadriatic to the

[19] Plutarch in Demet. The word parricide is used in its large acceptation; for the last Philip of Macedon, to whom Plutarch alludes, killed his son.

Indus, and from the frozen banks of the Danube to the scorching sands of Libya. The conflict, after being maintained a dozen years with no less dexterity than energy, terminated in the establishment of four independent monarchies; Syria, Egypt, Thrace, and Macedon; whose transactions with each other, and with foreign nations until their successive reduction under the Parthian and Roman power, serve to impress some of the most useful lessons and salutary warnings that are to be found in the whole series of ancient or modern history.

Antigonus conquers Syria and Phœnicia, and prepares a naval force. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

After his haughty answer to the ambassadors, Antigonus hastened to Syria to make good his threats. The whole of that country lay at the mercy of his invading army, except the strong towns, Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza; the first of which, though sacked only eighteen years before, had again recovered such a share of its ancient commerce and opulence as enabled it to stand a siege of fourteen months. The other cities were surrendered by their feeble Egyptian garrisons; but from the situation of Tyre, formerly described, it could not be taken without a fleet, essential also to the other designs which Antigonus then meditated. For creating a navy with celerity, capacious dockyards were erected at Tripolis, Byblos, and Sidon; copiously supplied with timber from the waving ridges of Libanus, covered in every age of antiquity with cedars, cypresses, and the more useful pine. By the labour of eight thousand men, and a thousand yoke of oxen, the

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forest was transported to the sea-shore. The Phœnicians were ordered to collect from all parts of their country their workmen in wood and iron. The three cities above-mentioned glowed with the ardour of naval preparation. The harbours and docks of Cilicia were amply stored with timber from the neighbouring ridges of Taurus: while the island of Rhodes, which had begun within a narrow circuit to exhibit a wonderful extent of commercial and productive industry, was furnished with imported materials for exercising the activity of its shipwrights in the lucrative service of a prince who lavished his oriental spoils, to call forth every exertion that wealth can purchase.[20]

Arrangement of the transactions in the complicated war of four years.

In thus preparing to form fleets fit to cope with those of Greece, of Macedon, and above all of Egypt, wonderfully improved in maritime affairs by Ptolemy during the seven years in which he had been master of Syria, Antigonus determined to avail himself to the utmost of his natural advantages over a confederacy, in the prompt execution of his designs, as well as in the systematic harmony with which they were concerted. The inland parts of Syria were ordered to provide two millions and seven hundred thousand bushels of wheat[21], at which he estimated the annual consumption of his army. Besides an ample provision of troops and treasures, he enjoyed that without which

Antigonus's lieutenants.

[20] Conf. Appian, Syriac. c. 58. Diodor. l. xix. s. 58.

[21] I reckon six bushels for each *Sicilian* medimnus, by which it is probable that Diodorus, himself a Sicilian, would compute.

all other warlike resources are of little avail, able commanders both by sea and land: Nearchus, the illustrious Cretan navigator; Andronicus the Olynthian; Idomeneus, Agesilaus, Medius, Bæotus, Macedonians educated in the school of Alexander; with his favourite son Demetrius, and his nephews Dioscorides and Ptolemy; youths born for war, and carefully formed to it under the eye of a watchful though indulgent master. With such ready instruments, he began to assail his enemies wherever they were most vulnerable. His nephew, Ptolemy, in whose abilities he had great confidence, was sent with other generals to dispossess Asander of Cappadocia; and after performing this service, to proceed towards the Hellespont, with a view to guard the narrow seas against Cassander and Lysimachus. Agesilaus sailed to Cyprus to detach that valuable island from the confederacy. Idomeneus had formerly succeeded in a similar design at Rhodes: while Aristodemus the Milesian, peculiarly qualified for the errand by his talent in buffoonery and adulation and address, carried large sums into Greece for the purposes of recruiting and bribery; and of gaining by every expedient Polysperchon, his son Alexander, and all men naturally hostile to the authority of Cassander in that country. [22] By means of these and other engines, seconded by numerous bodies of troops, as fast as transports could be provided for con-

[22] Diodor. l. xix. s. 57.

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veying them, Antigonus kindled a war that lasted four years, in Lesser Asia, Greece, Thrace, and Syria; and then terminating in an hasty and perfidious accommodation, broke out with renewed violence in all those countries to which it had formerly extended. The important transactions in the first part of this complicated drama will arrange themselves perspicuously, if we shift their respective scenes in the order just given, beginning with Lesser Asia, and ending with Syria, because the events in one country grew out of those in another, and a single unfortunate incident in the Syrian war occasioned such a revolution in the Eastern provinces as inclined Antigonus to peace, though on all sides victorious.

War in Lesser Asia. — Gallant exploit of Polycleitus, Ptolemy's admiral. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

Asander, the stubborn enemy of Antigonus in Asia Minor, was besieging Amisus in Pontus, when a strong division of the Syrian army drove him from that city. His ally, Zipætes the Bithynian, was compelled to raise the siege of Chalcedon, and to request pardon from the generals of Antigonus. The forces of this prince expelled the enemy from their strong-holds in Pontus and Cappadocia, and recovered for their master the northern shores of the peninsula. But Asander still defended himself with such vigour on its western and southern coasts, as excited the warmest exertions of the confederates in his defence, and thereby baffled, during two years that Antigonus was employed in other undertakings, the skill and enterprise of his nephew Ptolemy and other able commanders. Ptolemy,

the satrap of Egypt, whose fleet as yet far surpassed that of Antigonus, assisted Asander with ten thousand mercenaries. Soon afterwards, his admiral Polycleitus surprised succours not less considerable, that were advancing to reinforce the enemy. At Aphrodisias, a port of Cilicia, so named from its temple of Venus, Polycleitus learned that an armament, equipped by Antigonus in Rhodes, and accompanied by a land force, was advancing eastward from Lycia to co-operate in the expulsion of Asander from the neighbouring coast. By a stratagem, skilfully concerted and dexterously executed, Polycleitus made himself master of both fleet and army. The whole of his marines were posted in ambuscade in a defile through which the enemy had to march. His fleet was carefully concealed behind the Cilician promontory of Anemurium. Perilaus, who commanded Antigonus's soldiers, fell into the snare. He was made prisoner, and his troops either taken or slain. Suspecting some disaster from circumstances which the smallness of the intervening distance enabled him to observe, Theodotus, the co-operating admiral, hastened to land with his fleet to defend the intercepted army. But while he precipitately pushed to shore, Polycleitus with his ready squadrons darted from their concealment, and completed the defeat of men already half conquered by surprise and terror. The admiral of Antigonus was mortally wounded; all his ships were captured. Polycleitus pursued his voyage to Cyprus, whither he was destined,

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and thence to Pelusium in Egypt, loaded with military and naval trophies.[23]

Rivalled by an exploit of young Ptolemy, Antigonus's nephew.

This successful stratagem was balanced by an exploit equally brilliant on the side of Antigonus. Cassander of Macedon was not less diligent than Ptolemy of Egypt, in assisting their common ally. He had furnished Asander with a great reinforcement in the beginning of winter, at which time, young Ptolemy, Antigonus's nephew, who conducted the war in Caria, having cantoned his troops in their separate quarters, was piously employed in performing with much solemnity the funeral of his father, a man altogether unknown in history, except from the filial duty and conspicuous merit of his son. Elated with the great succours recently received, Asander, who had learned his adversary's security, hoped to surprise his cantonments. For this purpose, eight thousand foot, with a proportional body of cavalry, were entrusted to Eupolemus; a general, whose auspicious name[24] ill accorded with the malignancy of his fortune. The vigilant Ptolemy was seasonably apprised of the enemy's design. From the nearest quarters he collected a force with such expedition, that he was enabled to surprise those who had approached to surprise him. Towards the dusk of evening, he advanced with silence and celerity, and at midnight assailed the hostile camp, slightly fortified, and altogether unguarded. Eupolemus and his men were made prisoners of war.[25]

[23] Diodor. l. xix. s. 62. [24] Good in war. [25] Diodor. l. xix. s. 68.

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Seleucus commanding the Egyptian, braves the Syrian fleet. Olymp. cxvi. 2. B. C. 315.

The principal circumstance that enabled Asander to keep his ground on both coasts of the peninsula, was the great superiority of the Egyptian fleet. Amidst the important affairs in which his own activity was employed, Ptolemy committed a hundred sail to his warlike guest Seleucus, whose versatile talents were alike qualified for military and naval command. While Antigonus was busily employed in constructing ships in the Phœnician seaports, and in reducing the few places that still held out against him in that neighbourhood, Seleucus, in a fleet splendidly equipped, sailed northward from Egypt towards Asia Minor, braving contumeliously the hostile coast of Syria. The sight of this magnificent fleet damped the ardour of men, still occupied in preparation, encouraged the enemies of Antigonus, and disheartened his allies. But the alacrity of a general, grown old in victory, was not to be repressed by this ostentation of superiority. With his usual boldness of asseveration, he swore, that within a year's time, he would have five hundred sail ready to put to sea.[26] In that short interval, he actually equipped two hundred and seventy ships of war, most of which exceeded the ordinary rate of trireme galleys, and were impelled by four, five, nine, and even ten banks of oars. Till this time, penteremes, or ships with only five banks, were the largest known to antiquity. Antigonus at once doubled this number; and thereby augmented their size

[26] Diodor. l. xix. s. 58.

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in a far greater proportion. These vast floating machines were the contrivance of his son Demetrius, then in his twenty-first year.[27]

Antigonus's march to Celænæ, in Phrygia.

When his preparations were completed, Antigonus, tired with the unsuccessful warfare carried on by his generals in Lesser Asia, determined to take the field in person against Asander. His son Demetrius was left to command in Syria: Medius was entrusted with his fleet; with the flower of his army, Antigonus marched towards the Grecian sea. It was the heart of winter; the cold was extreme; and in crossing the defiles of mount Taurus, in Cilicia, his army was assailed by a snowy tempest, which buried many brave men under its cold weight. The remainder, after being long retarded by the uncommon severity of the weather, at length pursued their comfortless and dreary way through the neighbouring mountains of Isauria, till the Greater Phrygia, and particularly the dry district of Celænæ received them into its warm and hospitable bosom.[28]

He defeats and ruins Asander, satrap of Caria. Olymp. cxvi. 4. B. C. 313.

In the Celænæan territory, whose fruitfulness was cherished by subterranean fires[29], Antigonus fixed his head-quarters while he remained in the peninsula of Asia. From thence he sent reinforcements as well as orders to his distant generals, and in the beginning of spring assailed Asander of Caria so vigorously by sea and land,

[27] Plutarch in Demet.

[28] Diodor. l. xix. s. 69. Conf. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. l. xxxv. p. 432.

[29] Strabo, l. xii. p. 579.

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that the obstinacy of this rebellious satrap, as Antigonus affected to represent him, was compelled to surrender all his conquests on the coast as well as in the midland country. Asander was thus confined to his original province of Caria; and for his dutiful behaviour there, condescended to give his brother Agathon as a hostage. Shortly afterwards he repented of his submission; and having enabled his brother to escape from the hands of Antigonus, again applied to his former confederates. Provoked at these acts of treachery[30], Antigonus invaded Caria by land, while his admiral Medius, and young Ptolemy, now serving in the fleet, assailed the numerous cities on its deeply indented shores. The whole province was completely subdued. The fate of Asander is unknown: if he did not fall in battle, he probably sank into a private station, since his name does not occur in the treaty of peace which was concluded the following year, and in which Antigonus was acknowledged by the confederates as sovereign of all Asia.

War in Greece against Cassander. Olymp. cxvi. 3. B. C. 314.

The war in the Asiatic peninsula, thus terminated by the ruin of Asander, had been supported by powerful reinforcements from his allies. Antigonus therefore, while he endeavoured to weaken the exertions of Lysimachus and Ptolemy, by means that will hereafter be described, was peculiarly diligent in finding such employment for Cassander at home, as

[30] Diodor. l. xix. p. 75.

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should prevent him from looking abroad, and taking part in the Asiatic warfare. Aristodemus, the Milesian, carried large sums of money into Greece, and procured from the degenerate Spartans the permission of recruiting in their territory. He was soon at the head of eight thousand mercenary Greeks of Peloponnesus; while his emissaries stimulated to inroads into Macedon the fierce Etolians, the warlike Epirots, the barbarous and greedy Illyrians and Triballi. Aristodemus also gained the friendship of Polysperchon and his son Alexander, who respectively held Corinth and Sicyon. The former was declared general in Peloponnesus; the latter had instructions to repair to Antigonus, then in Syria.

Accusations urged against him by Antigonus.

Upon the arrival of Alexander in the camp, the Macedonians there, were joined by their countrymen in the neighbouring cities and garrisons. In this assembly of the nation, for those who remained in their own country in Europe were disregarded in comparison with the armies who had conquered Asia, Cassander was arraigned as the persecutor of the royal family, as the murderer of Olympias, as the violator of Thessalonica, and as the usurper of royal power, which he glaringly displayed in the city Cassandria, insolently called by his name. Vengeance was denounced against him, unless he instantly released Alexander Ægus and his mother from their confinement, and in all things complied with the orders of Antigonus, the

protector of that young prince, and of the empire. CHAP. VI.

By the same decree, *unconditional freedom* was restored to every city of Greece, implying thereby the restoration of its ancient equitable laws, and a complete exemption from contributions and garrisons. Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, returned with this decree into Greece, and with large sums of money to facilitate its execution. Through his exertions and those of Aristodemus, Cassander, whom they branded as a traitor and a murderer, was deprived of most of his possessions in the Peloponnesus, and was on the point of losing the whole of that peninsula, when he found means of gaining[31] the treacherous son of Polysperchon, and thus converting the zealous patriot, and indignant accuser, into a partisan of the very man, whom he had recently and publicly reproached with the most enormous crimes. The perfidious Alexander did not live to obtain the reward promised him in the generalship of all Peloponnesus. He was slain at Sicyon, by persons who called themselves his friends.[32] An insurrection of the citizens ensued, which was quelled by Cratisipolis, the wife of Alexander, a woman distinguished by her beauty and her gallantries, but not less by her craft and courage.

Cassander gains the son of Polysperchon.

The defection of her unworthy husband only delayed the success of Antigonus. By this time

Great success of Ptolemy,

[31] Diodor. l. xix. p. 75. [32] Diodor. ibid. s. 69.

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Antigonus's nephew, in Greece. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

the fleets of that prince were prepared for sea. Telesphorus, his general, sailed to Peloponnesus, with fifty galleys and a large army. Under pretence of giving freedom to that country, he expelled Cassander's garrisons, and replaced them with his own. Corinth indeed was still held by Polysperchon, to whom Cratisipolis had also resigned Sicyon. Except these cities, the rest of the peninsula lay entirely at the mercy of Telesphorus; and as Polysperchon had not joined in the defection of his son, the general of Antigonus might still regard him in the light of an ally, heartily united in animosity to Cassander their common enemy. Meanwhile, Aristodemus's intrigues and bribery began to operate in the northern divisions of Greece. The Etolians and Bœotians sent ambassadors to Antigonus, requesting his friendship. Young Ptolemy, whose presence was no longer necessary in Lesser Asia, hastened to protect them against Cassander with a fleet and army. He gained possession of Chalcis in Eubœa, the key to that island; he expelled the Macedonian garrison from Thebes; in Phocis and Locris, his arms were equally successful; the whole country, from the isthmus of Corinth to the straits of Thermopylæ, acknowledged his ascendency; and as he granted an alliance to Athens, still governed by Demetrius Phalereus, and treated with great mildness the places taken by force, as well as those which had yielded to persuasion, his authority over the persons of the Greeks, was strengthened by in-

terest in their affections.[33] Cassander, harassed in war by the Epirots and Illyrians, and threatened by invasion from Hellespontian Phrygia, was unable to prevent the farther ruin of his affairs in Greece, much less to repair past losses. Of all his former possessions in that country, Thessaly alone remained to him.

Frantic proceedings of Telesphorus.

Antigonus rejoiced in the happy exploits of his nephew; and without regarding the unequal merit of Telesphorus, entrusted Ptolemy with the sole administration in Greece. Telesphorus was enraged to madness by this disgrace. He determined no more to see his master; he sold the fleet committed to him; and when the Elians disapproved his proceedings, he entered their sacred city, seized the Olympic treasure, gained to him by bribes a body of adventurers as daring and desperate as himself, and prepared to defend the usurped dominion of Elis, by bridling it with a new citadel. From this inland capital, he extended his ravages to the Elian seaport of Cyllene, which was oppressed by his mercenaries; while the once-renowned Spartans, and other warlike states of Peloponnesus, remained tame spectators of the profanation of a consecrated territory, equally endeared and ennobled as the scene of their most revered religious solemnities. But that, which the Greeks had not spirit to do for themselves, was effected by a young Macedonian officer in the service of Antigonus. Upon the first intel-

Young Ptolemy's merit and success. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

[33] Diodor. l. xix. s. 78.

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ligence of Telesphorus's frantic behaviour, Ptolemy hastened to Peloponnesus, expelled the outrageous oppressor from Elis and its territory, levelled his new citadel in the dust, replaced in the Olympian temple its dedicated treasure, and, together with their solitary harbour of Cyllené, restored to the peaceful Elians their ancient and sacred security.[34]

The issue of the war in Greece, highly favourable to Antigonus and his family.

In this manner the war in Greece terminated, not only to the advantage, but real glory of Antigonus. He thenceforward enjoyed in that country an influence, which, though it underwent great variations, descended to his posterity, and finally enabled his family to acquire, and long retain the crown of Macedon. History is silent as to the punishment of the sacrilegious Telesphorus; but even its silence attests the actual weakness of the Greeks, who, amidst the greatest insults, and in passing from one master to another, performed not any exploit worthy of commemoration; nor even attempted any thing distinguished by boldness of design.

War in Thrace also favourable to Antigonus. Olymp. cxvi. 4. B. C. 313.

Lysimachus, of Thrace, had joined in the league against Antigonus; and during the expedition of the latter into Upper Asia, had invaded Hellespontian Phrygia, with a view to appropriate that valuable province, so conveniently situate with regard to his own maritime possessions. Antigonus, however, at his return to the sea-coast, contrived to create such disturbances in Thrace itself, that its rapacious satrap

[34] Diodor. l. xix. s. 87.

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was unable to yield any assistance to the confederacy, or even to defend his acquisitions on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. In addition to the hostility of the fierce Thracian mountaineers under their hereditary chieftains, Lysimachus experienced a revolt of the Greek cities, planted for the commercial purposes explained in a former part of this work, on the shores of the Euxine. Odessus, Calatis, and other places of less note from the eastern extremity of Mount Hæmus to the mouths of the Danube, expelled his garrisons and defied his vengeance. Calatis, a colony of Pontic Heraclæa, sustained a siege of several years, during which it was repeatedly succoured by Antigonus with fleets and armies. The friendly intercourse between this city, and the Scythians beyond the Danube, procured for it the powerful aid of those formidable Barbarians.[35] It is uncertain whether Lysimachus ever compelled the place to surrender; and shortly after his death, Calatis appears in the rank of an independent commonwealth, waging an obstinate war with Byzantium.[36]

Victorious in Thrace, in Greece, and in the peninsula of Asia, Antigonus imprudently rejected proposals for peace, which the allies separately made to him. He purposed to reduce them all to unconditional submission; and might have succeeded in this design, had not events in Syria, to which the transactions hitherto related

Antigonus's prosperity and high designs.

[35] Diodor. l. xix. s. 73. [36] Memnon apud Photium, c. 28.

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are but bloodless preludes, given a new turn to the war, and threatened the total ruin of his affairs. Shortly after his first invasion of Syria, he had taken Gaza and Joppa by assault. Tyre surrendered to his arms after a blockade of fourteen months. Thus master of the only places which had held out for Ptolemy, he considered Syria, a country of great resources, and now completely subdued, as peculiarly well calculated, from its central situation, for becoming the seat of an imperial capital, and the head of his vast monarchy in Europe and Asia. At his march towards the Grecian sea, he had left in that important province his son Demetrius with a considerable army, assisted by the councils of confidential friends and able generals; purposing, after he had settled affairs in the West, to return himself into Syria, and by an invasion from that quarter, to enlarge his extensive dominion by the fertility and wealth of Egypt.

Ptolemy invades Syria. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

Ptolemy was not unacquainted with his views; but his first care had been to appease the troubles excited by the enemy in Cyrené. The cautious Egyptian satrap was slow to shew himself on the foreground of the war; but in proportion to his prudent delay, he appeared at length with higher dignity and more decisive effect. By means of his fleet, still superior, if not in strength, at least in skill and practice, he completed the conquest of Cyprus, whose harbours were conveniently situate for invading Syria and Cilicia. In the former country, he gained the seaport of Posideium, at the mouth of the

Orontes: in the latter, he carried with much bravery the strong fortifications of Mallos. Both places were plundered; their inhabitants were made slaves; and the districts dependent on them, which had been sources of copious supply to the enemy, were desolated by fire and sword. Young Demetrius, who had been left by his father to defend this central portion of his dominions, was not of a temper to see it wasted with impunity. Having collected his cavalry and light-armed troops, he hastened by forced marches into Cilicia: but if he had been provoked to learn the proceedings of his enemies in that province, he was still more mortified to find that they had withdrawn from it, carrying with them its rich spoils to Cyprus. To prevent some new disaster in Syria, on whose southern frontier he had reason to fear an invasion, he returned thither with such celerity that he is said to have accomplished an ordinary march of twenty-four days, in six only. Ptolemy, meanwhile, having assembled the military force of his province, was advancing to the frontier city of Pelusium, separated by a desert of an hundred and twenty miles from Gaza, the principal station of the enemy. His standard was followed by eighteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, Macedonians or mercenaries. This regular army was attended by a crowd of Egyptians; merchants, purveyors, carriers, many of whom were armed after the comparatively awkward manner of their country. By means of precautions formerly described, the expeditious march

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through the desert was performed without danger. Emerging from this dreary ocean of sand, Ptolemy encamped[37] near a place called Old Gaza, distant a few miles from the city of the same name, demolished after a stubborn siege by Alexander, but afterwards more strongly fortified by that conqueror, and now garrisoned by the troops of Antigonus.

Demetrius prepares to give him battle.

In this neighbourhood, Demetrius collected fifteen thousand foot, five thousand horse, and forty elephants; his youthful mind glowing with impatience to meet his antagonist. In vain his experienced counsellors, Python the son of Agenor, and Bœotus the most intimate friend of his father, dissuaded him from risking an unnecessary battle against a superior army, commanded by such generals as Ptolemy and Seleucus. He was master, as they represented to him, of all the surrounding territory. The walls of Gaza, Tyre, Sidon, Joppa, and other fortified cities, afforded to him secure places of arms; from which, without endangering his high fortune, he might continually infest his opponents, beat up their quarters, intercept their convoys, cut off their advanced parties, and finally compel them to a retreat through the desert, equally ruinous and disgraceful. Neither Demetrius himself, nor the troops whom he commanded, were capable of listening to this salutary advice. His youth, his talents, and his temper, all conspired to inflame his hopes and pervert his

[37] Diodor. l. xix. s. 80.

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judgment. Having summoned the soldiers that he might justify by their decision his own obstinate rashness, he mounted the military tribunal in complete and royal armour, and prepared to address the surrounding multitude. His air and aspect recalled to the Macedonians the image of Alexander. But in his twenty-second year, the son of Antigonus felt not that confidence in himself, and that inborn dignity, by which the son of Philip, at an earlier age, had challenged the submission of mankind. In the presence of so formidable an audience of armed veterans and experienced generals, all frowning disapprobation, his resolution began to shake, his countenance fell, and his memory forsook him. A great majority, however, of the troops, flushed with a long series of victories, encouraged him by their favourable acclamations to proceed. The light mind of Demetrius, animated by this mark of their affection, passed from timidity to transport. The hopes with which his own bosom panted, were communicated warm and entire to his hearers, while he exhorted them by every motive of honour, of interest, and of duty, to prepare for a battle, which must unalterably confirm their own fortunes and the stability of his father's empire.[38]

Battle of Old Gaza. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B.C. 312.

On the day of battle Demetrius posted his best troops on the left wing, and reinforced it by the elephants, with which kind of auxiliaries

[38] Plutarch in Demet.

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the enemy had not provided themselves, because they well knew, it is said, that the African elephants could not be brought to engage those of India. The great body of his infantry formed the centre. His right wing contained the least serviceable part of the army, on which account it receded in a waving line from the hostile front; and its commander, Andronicus, was ordered to provoke a battle without attempting to sustain it. By the vigorous onset of his left, Demetrius hoped to make an impression the more decisive, because, according to the Macedonian arrangements above explained, the general with his select bands of cavalry never fought without some evident local reason in that quarter of the field. But Ptolemy and Seleucus, having discovered that Demetrius meant thereby to deceive them, moved from their left with three thousand chosen cavalry. The equestrian combat was animated and persevering; both sides having broken their lances had recourse to their swords; the companions of Alexander striving to preserve the laurels which they had dearly earned, and Demetrius, who only knew by report the glory of that prince, aspiring by his prowess in the present battle to equal the renown of the greatest captains. But unfortunately a part of his force in which he much confided, and which Alexander's better science disdained, principally occasioned his defeat. His elephants being roused to the charge advanced with seemingly resistless weight, when they were withstood, how-

ever, and rendered useless by a simple-enough defence, with which the Egyptians had the precaution to be provided. This was a sort of portable barrier, studded with iron spikes, and strongly connected by massy chains. When this moveable wall was thrown in the way of those fierce animals, it totally prevented them from using with effect their butting strength. From the huge weight of their bodies, their feet are comparatively weak and tender. Their assault is chiefly formidable on a smooth and soft ground. Disabled by the unevenness of their footing, and tortured by piercing spikes, they were exhausted by their own fury, while the Indians, who exerted their utmost skill in vainly endeavouring to govern them, were overwhelmed by missile weapons. This unexpected disaster dismayed Demetrius's left wing; and, together with it, drove his whole army into flight. Under this sad calamity, the desperate valour of the general was zealously seconded by Python and Bœotus, who strove by voice and arm to rally the fugitives. But their meritorious exertions only procured them an honourable death, since both fell gloriously while attempting with unequal strength to stem the torrent of pursuit. Their bravest companions shared the same fate. Demetrius, perceiving the battle irretrievably lost, fled northwards to Gaza, but was so closely pursued by the victors, that he could not safely enter that place. As many of his followers, however, had deposited there the whole of their effects, nothing could

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restrain them from endeavouring to recover their dearly-purchased booty. Rushing heedlessly into Gaza, they were followed by Ptolemy's cavalry, who thus augmented the number of their valuable captives, and gained possession of a strong city, containing the baggage of the whole army, together with the rich furniture and numerous domestics belonging to its commanders. Demetrius still pursued his flight northwards, until he was received within the friendly walls of Azotus, thirty miles distant from the field of battle.[39]

Vast loss on the part of Demetrius.

In this city he was apprised of the full extent of his misfortune: five thousand, principally horsemen, were slain; eight thousand, chiefly infantry, were made prisoners. The loss of trinkets and treasures in Gaza seemed of no account: His bravest soldiers, his beloved friends had fallen; and their bodies still lay unburied on the field of battle. To remove this last and worst disgrace, heralds were sent to Ptolemy, craving leave to inter the slain. Together with this permission, which it would have been impious to deny, the heralds brought back to Demetrius his camp-equipage and effects, and the sad remnant of his surviving friends, with a generous message from Ptolemy, "that he contended not for all things at once, with the son of his ancient partner in arms, and formerly faithful ally." Demetrius accepted his bounty, but implored the gods

[39] Diodor. l. xix. s. 81. et seq. & Plutarch in Demet.

that they would relieve him from a gratitude burdensome, because due to the enemy of his father.[40]

His vow was heard; he was enabled in a short time to repay Ptolemy's favour. Yet the consequences of his defeat at Gaza were irretrievable, since it enabled Seleucus, while Demetrius was repairing his affairs in Syria, and Antigonus still busy in the peninsula, to regain possession of Babylonia, and thereby eventually to become master of Upper Asia. This memorable revolution will be circumstantially related, after we have concluded the less important transactions in Syria and its neighbourhood.

Irretrievable consequences of that battle.

From Azotus, in which Demetrius first found a short respite from the pursuers, he retreated northwards to Tripoli, thus abandoning to the enemy two hundred miles of the Syrian coast. Ascalon, Acca, Joppa, Samaria, and Sidon, opened their gates to the conqueror. Andronicus, who, having escaped from the battle of Gaza, had resumed his command in Tyre, ventured, however, not only to defend that place, but to answer Ptolemy's summons with insults. A revolt of the citizens compelled him to surrender. His brave resistance was praised, his insolent language was forgiven; and by this seasonable lenity Ptolemy acquired fair renown while he prudently converted a stubborn adversary into a zealous partisan.

Ptolemy forgives the insults of Andronicus governor of Tyre.

[40] Diodor. l. xix. s. 81. et seq. & Plutarch in Demet.

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Demetrius surprises Ptolemy's general Killes, and completely defeats him. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

Demetrius, with defeated troops but a mind undismayed, yielded not to that despondency too natural to youthful impatience under its first painful reverse. It was his character to harden under the blows of fortune. By one of those rapid marches in which he rivalled Alexander himself, he crossed mount Taurus, assembled the veteran garrisons in the eastern provinces of the peninsula, and appeared unexpectedly in the heart of Syria. Ptolemy, whose genius led him still more strongly to improve his dominions than to head armies, had entrusted the command in Syria to Killes, a general chosen, as it should seem, with little discernment, since he committed the greatest of all military errors, that of despising his enemies. In his march to encounter Demetrius, he advanced rashly, and encamped carelessly near the obscure town of Myons. His vigilant adversary, duly apprised of his security and negligence, led his army by divisions, through narrow and unfrequented paths; and by well-concerted movements, surprised at the hour of midnight Killes in his defenceless camp, gained a large booty, and made seven thousand prisoners. His success filled him with inexpressible joy, as the means of *disburdening* his gratitude to the Egyptian satrap. Killes, the confidential friend of Ptolemy, was instantly released; and, together with other officers of distinction, sent back to Egypt loaded with presents.[41]

[41] Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 93. & Plutarch in Demet.

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Meanwhile Antigonus having triumphed over his enemies in the West, moved from the Grecian sea to oppose Ptolemy in Syria. His approach, combined with the recent and ruinous disaster of Killes, filled the Egyptian satrap with alarm. The great army of Antigonus had hardened in many a victorious campaign, their admired commander, in a life of continued warfare, having passed his seventieth year without once losing a battle. Ptolemy's generals were ordered to evacuate Syria, that they might be ready to defend the fortresses of Egypt and the banks of the Nile.[42] In their retreat from the former province, they were followed by many of its inhabitants, particularly by many Jews, *the Syrians of Palæstine*, who preferred to their native country a residence in the flourishing capital of Alexandria, where their nation, adroit and hardy, had, as before related, been endowed by the discernment of Ptolemy, with many valuable immunities. In the number of Jewish emigrants, historians have distinguished Hezekiah, a chief priest, respectable for eloquence and wisdom; and Mosollam, a soldier, highly admired by the Greeks for his skill in archery and his valour; and who challenged their admiration more justly, by the contempt which he boldly expressed for their puerile superstition. In marching towards the Red Sea, a detachment, escorting the baggage, was suddenly stopped by orders of the soothsayer. Mosollam

The Egyptians evacuate Syria carrying with them many Jews.

Hezekiah and Mosollam.

[42] Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 93. & Plutarch in Demet.

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asked the reason of the halt. The augur desired him, and them all, to observe a bird at which he pointed. "Should this messenger of the gods," he said, "remain at rest, we ought likewise for the present to repose; if he rises and flies onward in the line of our march, we may then proceed with confidence; but should our sure guide take a contrary direction, we must then return to the place from whence we last came." The grave admonition was scarcely uttered, when an arrow flew from the unerring hand of Mosollam, and brought down the bird fluttering in its blood. The diviner and the whole Grecian detachment were moved with indignation. Amidst the blind rage of a capricious multitude, glory or disgraceful death depend on the decision of the moment. The Jew was saved by his presence of mind and intrepidity. "Your anger," he said, "is groundless. You think that the bird was acquainted with the destiny that awaits us and the whole army; yet the thoughtless little wanderer was plainly unconscious of its own fate, otherwise it would never have roved to this unfortunate spot, to be transfixed by the arrow of Mosollam the Jew."[48]

Why Hecatæus of Abdera and Jerom of Cardia treated the Jews so.

From the conversation of the Jews now accompanying the Egyptian army, Hecatæus of Abdera, a Grecian colony on the coast of Thrace, was enabled to compose his elaborate and faithful history of a people whose transactions and

[48] Joseph. contr. Apion. l. i.

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differently in their respective histories.

institutions have been strangely disfigured by the vain prejudices of Greece, and more strangely overlooked or calumniated by the proud ignorance of Rome. Hecatæus of Abdera, as well as Jerom of Cardia, assiduously cultivated letters amidst the cares and labours of warfare; like Ptolemy, Eumenes, Aristobulus, and other generals of an age equally pre-eminent in arts and arms. After the death of Alexander, Hecatæus attached himself solely to Ptolemy; while the compliant Jerom followed successively the fortunes of Eumenes, Antigonus, and Seleucus; the first of whom was destroyed by the second, as was the second by the third. Under the empire of Seleucus, Jerom, who lived to the age of an hundred and four years, was employed as governor of Syria, in which Palæstine was included. Yet in his history of Alexander's immediate successors, it was remarked that Jerom had passed over the wonderful peculiarities of the Hebrew race in total and incomprehensible silence; a silence, however, that may in some measure be accounted for, if we consider that the natives of Judæa were either open enemies or reluctant subjects to the princes whom he tamely and anxiously served; whereas Hecatæus, being the friend of Ptolemy, the beloved protector of the Jews, deduced the memorable series of their exploits and sufferings from the age of Abraham to his own times [44]; a work, the

[44] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. ix. and Origen. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 15.

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loss of which is the more unfortunate, because the religion and polity of Palæstinè must have been placed in a light equally striking and new, by the candid impartiality of this curious and well-informed stranger.

Nabathæan Arabs.—Their character and pursuits.

Having thus recovered the undisputed possession of Syria, Antigonus, before invading the powerful satrapy of Egypt, determined to round, as it were, and fortify on all sides, the country which he had chosen for his imperial residence, the station for his fleet and army, and the centre from which his orders were to pervade the most distant provinces. The command of the intermediate deserts between Syria and Egypt, and a controul over their roving inhabitants, must have appeared also a necessary preparative for facilitating the conquest of Ptolemy's well-fortified dominions. The Nabathæan Arabs, inhabiting these deserts, formed a powerful branch of the great Nomadic nation, who, as formerly explained, served from immemorial antiquity for carriers in the commercial intercourse between Egypt and Phœnicia on one hand, and in that between Ethiopia and Assyria on the other. From the desolating wars that had long prevailed in all those countries, and especially from the downfall of Egyptian Thebes, Phœnician Tyre, and Assyrian Babylon, the traffic of the Nabathæans had greatly declined. But the natives of the wilderness in all ages compensated for the allotment of a sterile territory by the force of arms, as well as by the frauds of

trade.[45] Although they had given no particular provocation to Antigonus, it seemed sufficient that they were always able and willing to offend; and this consideration, conspired with other motives to precipitate him into an expedition, often undertaken by the greatest conquerors both before and afterwards, but in which it should seem that no laurels were destined ever to be won.

Their history and institutions.

The nature of the country, and not less the genius of the people, seemed peculiarly well fitted for repelling invasion. They derived their name from Nabaioth[46], the eldest of the sons of Ishmael, and are honourably distinguished by their ancestors, whose history is faithfully recorded[47] when that of the world consisted in the tradition of scattered families; and still more terribly conspicuous for the valorous enthusiasm of their descendants, since the concurring testimony[48] of Greeks and Barbarians entitles them to claim Mahomet for their own. Nine centuries before the Christian æra, their decaying institutions were restored to their primitive vigour, and thenceforward perpetuated under the most awful penalties. With submission to the stern laws of Jonadab, powerfully enforced by their country and climate, the Nabathæans

[45] Plin. l. vi. c. 32. Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 48.

[46] Genesis, c. xxv. v. 13. I follow the writing of the Septuagint.

[47] Genesis, passim.

[48] That of the Greek Theophanes, Chronograph. p. 277., and of the Syrian prince, and geographer Ishmael Abulfeda, in his Directorium Region. p. 11.

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abstained from practices elsewhere indifferent or meritorious; they neither built houses, nor planted fruit-trees, nor drank wine, nor sowed corn.[49] Amidst an ocean of sand, intersected by sharp rocks, they were without rivers to irrigate and fertilize their adust soil; and their wells were so scanty and precarious that the collected rain was carefully deposited in strong cisterns, whose mouths, constructed with artful concealment[50], were only discernible by the keenness of an Arabian eye. These were the hidden treasures of the desert, by which the Nabathæans supported their laborious lives, and from which they watered their weary flocks, conducting them, as occasion required, over wide intervals of barrenness to rare and meagre pastures, diversified chiefly by the spreading tamarind and hardy acacia. The Nabathæans lived wholly in tents; their food consisted in flesh and milk; their luxuries were pepper and honey[51]; sheep, camels, and horses formed their principal wealth; their first passion was to live independent and fearless, their second to inspire terror into all their neighbours.[52] Surrounded on three sides

[49] Jeremiah, c. xxxv. v. 8, 9. 2 Kings, c. x. v. 15. Conf. Diodor. l. xix. s. 94.

[50] The opening was small at top, but gradually enlarged in a quadrangular form. Each side of the square at bottom was sometimes a πλεθρον, that is, 100 feet long.

[51] I adopt Wesselingius's correction, και μελι απο των δενδρων. Polyænus, Ælian, and Aristotle, mention this wild honey found on the leaves of trees; the same substance on which St. John fed in the neighbouring wilderness. From whom the Arabs got their pepper, I formerly explained, p. 222.

[52] Diodor. l. xix. s. 94.

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by the most flourishing nations of antiquity, they communicated on the south with the pastoral kingdom of Yemen, whose happy shores were enriched by precious aromatics. The myrrh and frankincense furnished at stated fairs by the southern tribes, the Nabathæans deposited in huge caverns, particularly those of the rock Petra, distant about an hundred miles from the Mediterranean, and half that number from the Dead Sea, called by the Greeks the lake Asphaltites. From these magazines, they supplied with spices and perfumes the commerce of Phœnicia, the luxury of Egypt, the magnificence of Assyria, and the costly superstition of all those countries, whose inhabitants they alternately over-reached in trade and plundered in war.[53]

Antigonus's expedition against them. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

Antigonus, as master of part of the contiguous territories, and hoping shortly to engross the whole, determined to assail these common enemies; and by the terror of his arms, to render them subservient to his views. Having selected four thousand foot and six hundred horse, the best prepared for expedition, he waited till the Nabathæans travelled southward to one of the periodical fairs above-mentioned, after leaving only a slight guard at Petra, consisting chiefly of old men, to defend their wives, children, and most precious effects. Athenæus, who conducted the enterprise, in a forced march of thirty-six hours, surprised Petra; put its ob-

[53] Diodor. l. xix. s. 94. and l. ii. s. 48.

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stinate defenders to the sword; and returned towards Gaza loaded with much valuable merchandise, besides five hundred talents of silver and a crowd of young slaves. Before the military caravan had proceeded twenty miles on its route, the fatigue of a sandy road and the almost vertical blaze of the sun occasioned a hasty encampment, in the full confidence that little danger was to be apprehended from so distant an enemy. But the Arabs had already taken the alarm. Accustomed to clear skies and naked plains, their experienced eyes discerned from afar the faintest shadows of warriors to avoid, or travellers to plunder: and whether they wished to fight or fly, the velocity of their horses and dromedaries[54] was always ready to second their purpose. At their return to Petra, they learned from their fathers, yet weltering in blood, the full extent of their disaster; and they flew with fury to avenge it. To the number of eight thousand, they assailed the unguarded tents of the Macedonians; massacred part of them asleep, slew others as they roused from their slumber: the whole infantry perished; only fifty horsemen escaped, and these bleeding with their wounds.[55]

Its unfortunate issue.

Second expedition under his son Demetrius.

Having satiated their revenge, the Arabs returned to Petra, and sent messengers to Antigonus, with a letter in the Syrian character, complaining of his cruel and unprovoked in-

[54] I use this word to express the swiftest camels. Volney denies their two bunches. Voiage en Syrie.

[55] Diodor. l. xix. s. 95.

vasion.[56] The Macedonian dissembled his wrath, and loudly condemned Athenæus, who, without any orders from himself, had undertaken a mad and wicked enterprise, that had been justly punished. But while he thus endeavoured to lull the fear of the enemy, he equipped a new detachment far more numerous than the former, which being amply furnished with food not requiring preparation by fire, was committed to the zeal and boldness of his son Demetrius.

Proves fruitless.

The fair words of Antigonus deceived not that suspicious caution which is the natural characteristic of robbers. Sentinels were posted on the rocks skirting the Nabathæan desert; and, according to the eastern custom, supplied with torches for signals. The general blaze announced Demetrius's invasion, and gave time to provide against it. Petra was stripped of its treasures, which were conveyed farther into the wilderness; but a trusty band was left to defend the place itself, a natural fortress well improved by art, with one narrow entrance near the summit. Demetrius led his men to the assault, but was so vigorously received by the Arabs, that it became necessary to sound a retreat. Next day the attack was on the point of being renewed, when the loud and clear voice of a Nabathæan chief strongly urged the folly of invading a territory, which was so sparingly provided with those objects, for the sake of which only any

[56] Diodor. l. xix. s. 95.

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war can reasonably be undertaken. "Our country is adust and desolate. We alone are born to inhabit it, because we prefer freedom to all other enjoyments. So deeply rooted is our love of independence, that should you enthral our bodies, you never could subdue our minds. All to be obtained by conquest, would be a crowd of obstinate or spiritless slaves, incapable of enduring any other institutions than those under which they have immemorially lived." Demetrius, on whose mind this speech was peculiarly well calculated to operate, received presents and hostages, and instantly withdrew his army.[57]

Demetrius's retreat.

The lake Asphaltites, and the surrounding country.

To compensate, however, for the failure of this expedition, he engaged in an undertaking seemingly more practicable, and, if it succeeded, certainly more lucrative. The singular appearance of the country through which he had travelled to Petra, would have excited the attention of a man of less curiosity. The horror of its grim aspect must have been heightened by contrast with the smiling fertility and beauty of the northern regions of Syria, which he had just left, and in which, though equally mountainous with the southern division of that country, the mountains pleased and allured, their sides being richly clothed with vines, olives, and the umbrageous fig-tree; while their summits waved with pines and cedars, the loftiest offspring of the forest; and the intermediate

57 Diodor. l. xix. s. 97, 98.

valleys were diversified with yellow harvests, and an abundant variety of such shrubs and fruit-trees as flower in the mildest climates. Such is the general picture of northern Syria[58]; but in approaching *Palæstinian* Syria, a country which once owed advantages, denied it by nature, to the stubborn industry of man, the hills of the same Alpine elevation[59] are bleak and barren, almost uniformly white, rugged, and shapeless. The scene grows inexpressibly dreary around the lake Asphaltites; rude without being romantic, deformed with all the horrors of savageness, without any of the charms of wildness. This tremendous lake, which the Jews named variously from its pernicious vapours and its bitter saltness, the Dead, and the Salt, Sea, is immersed in a bituminous steam, the work of dire subterranean fires, since the pestilent effluvia are highly deleterious to almost every form of animal and vegetable life. Into its northern extremity, the rivers Jordan and Arnon continually flow, and are continually absorbed and corrupted in its dismal pools[60]; which extend generally in breadth about twelve miles, and stretch sixty miles in length, from the Aulon or great valley of Judæa, to the land of Edom, and the skirts of the Nabathæan desert.

[58] Brown, Volney, &c.

[59] From the continuance of snow on mount Libanus, its elevation has been estimated at 1600 fathoms. The highest of the Alps, mount Blanc, is 2600 fathoms, and the Pic of Ossian in the Pyrenees, 1900.

[60] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 98.

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Their productions.

This odious and deadly landskip, whose actual appearance so forcibly commemorates the ancient punishment of its abominable inhabitants[61], contain however two valuable treasures, the balm of Gilead, and the above-mentioned Asphaltus or bitumen; the former of peculiar request in medicine, and the latter indispensable to the Egyptians in embalming their dead bodies.[62] As motives of gain generally prevail over considerations of health; the high emolument derived from the traffic of these articles had attracted colonies to both sides of the Dead Sea; men more gloomy and repulsive than the shores where they dwelt. For collecting the Asphaltus, they employed rafts of wood, which two mariners navigated, while one warrior, armed with his bow and lance, repelled those who either obstructed their labour, or sought to appropriate its fruits.[63] A lawless banditti living in perpetual hostility with each other, Demetrius found it easy to overawe, and might hope with little difficulty to extirpate. He carefully examined the lake, and brought to his father so favourable an account of the profit which it was calculated to yield, that Antigonus sent forces

Jerom of Cardia left to collect bitumen, but obliged to aban-

[61] The modern Syrians call the Lacus Asphaltites, the lake of Lot, and shew to credulous pilgrims shapeless blocks of detached rock, as indubitable monuments of Lot's wife; yet that worldly-minded woman was only involved in a pillar of salt, easily dissolvable, not converted into stone like Niobe.

[62] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 99. says, "the embalmers could not exercise their trade without this production of the lake:" "dont la salure," Mr. Volney observes, "est infiniment plus forte que celle de la mer."

[63] Diodor. l. xix. s. 99.

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to gain possession of the territory. Their success was complete: and Jerom, the historian, was left with a detachment to superintend the collecting of the bitumen. But he had scarcely begun this useful work, when the Arabs, to the number of six thousand, attacked and destroyed his boats, killed the greatest part of his men, and compelled him to return with precipitation to his employer.[64] The artful Jerom, however, well knew how to varnish his disgrace; and his representations prevailed with Antigonus to relinquish all prospects of revenue from the lake Asphaltites, and all hopes of vengeance from a renewal of the Nabathæan war. In this resolution, he was confirmed by very alarming intelligence from both extremities of the empire.

don that design.

In the West, Lysimachus and Cassander had grown more powerful, not only through the vigour of their own exertions, but in consequence of the languid or treacherous proceedings of young Ptolemy, who, upon some unexplained wound given to his pride, had taken offence at his uncle, and begun to tamper with Cassander, to whom he afterwards revolted.[65] From the East, Antigonus was informed by Nicanor his governor of Media, that the provinces of Upper Asia were in the most dangerous commotion; that part of them was already lost, and that the speediest exertions were requisite for saving the remainder.[66]

Bad news received from different quarters by Antigonus.

[64] Diodorus, l. xix. s. 100.
[65] Ibid. l. xx. s. 19.
[66] Ibid. l. xix. s. 90. et seq.

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The victory obtained by Ptolemy over Demetrius at Gaza, was attended with a consequence which neither of these generals had foreseen. Seleucus, who had so important a share in that brilliant action, and whose activity never slumbered, availed himself of the good fortune and gratitude of his ally, to obtain from him a body of troops for invading his ancient satrapy of Babylonia, of which three years before he had been divested by Antigonus. During four years that he had formerly governed there, the vigilance and impartial justice of Seleucus had endeared him to the natives.[67] Imitating the liberal policy of Alexander, he indulged the Asiatics in their inveterate habits of thought and action; gradually engrafting, however, on the oriental stock, those simple yet solid improvements, of which daily experience clearly evinced the utility. With little regard to national distinctions, he acknowledged those chiefly of personal merit. The vanquished were protected in common with the victors; and both were promoted in just proportion to their zeal and ability in the public service. With energy equal to his ambition, the love of power in Seleucus was called royalty of soul.[68] His praises were highly sounded among Greeks and Barbarians; and as he was younger by many years than Antigonus[69], and even than Ptolemy or Lysimachus, a circumstance of much weight with the vulgar, the popular oracles of

[67] Παση προσεφερετο καλως. Diodorus, l. xix. s. 91.

[68] Appian in Syriac.

[69] He died forty-two years after Alexander, aged 70. Id. ibid.

many nations had foretold his future greatness and unbounded prosperity.[70]

Seleucus recovers Babylon.

Encouraged by these circumstances in his favour, he ventured on his expedition to Upper Asia, with a thousand infantry and three hundred horse.[71] Demetrius was still stunned with his defeat, while Antigonus was laboriously occupied in completing the conquest of the Peninsula. Of this fortunate crisis, the only one which the war had afforded, Seleucus availed himself with decisive resolution, and invaded Babylonia as seasonably as, during the ascending star of Antigonus, he had relinquished that invaluable province. On their weary march through the desert, his followers were refreshed by the prophecies of the Chaldæans, and those of the Branchidæ of Miletus[72], announcing their beloved leader as the destined lord of Asia, and founder of a new and endless dynasty. The fortified post of Carrhæ in Mesopotamia opened its gates on the first summons, and the garrison consisting of a body of Macedonian veterans joined the party of the invader. In the progress of his march, he met with the welcome reception of a hereditary prince, who arrives to rescue his birthright from a cruel usurpation. Antigonus's soldiers in Babylon were unable to repress the joy of its citizens, who went forth in crowds to hail their deliverer. Diphilus, commanding one division of the troops left to overawe the

[70] Conf. Diodor. l. ii. s. 31. & l. xix. s. 55. & 90.

[71] Appian, Syriac.

[72] Diodor. ubi supra.

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city, threw himself into a fortified palace, with a number of principal Babylonians by way of hostages; while Polyarchus, another general, forsook the odious cause of Antigonus, and joined his rival with upwards of a thousand warlike Macedonians.[73] Seleucus had thus sufficient force to assail and carry the fortified palace or citadel, which had previously been converted into a state prison, since he found in it many illustrious captives, his companions and friends, whom Antigonus had confined in that stronghold on taking possession of Babylon.[74] The victory of Seleucus was now complete. The banks of the Tigris and Euphrates again smiled under a benignant master; evincing, in the easy and almost bloodless revolution, the importance of the people's affections, even in countries long enured to despotism.

Successfully defends it.

But this successful enterprise, which restored to Seleucus millions of affectionate subjects, had not given him the command of any considerable military force. His diligence was exerted in making new levies of infantry, and in distributing horses to those qualified to use them. The rapidity of his enemies anticipated his preparations. Antigonus indeed was remote; Demetrius, as we have seen, was occupied in other pursuits; but Nicanor and Evagoras, respectively governors of Media and Persia, were in arms to defend the cause of a master to whom they owed their appointments. With upwards of ten

[73] Diodor. l. xix. s. 91. [74] Id. ibid.

thousand foot and seven thousand horse, they hastened to the eastern bank of the Tigris, where Seleucus, who could scarcely oppose them with half those numbers, had recourse to art for supplying his deficiency in force. The enemy, confident in their strength and prowess, encamped without guards or sentinels, and without previously examining the adjacent country. There, Seleucus had laid an ambush among the thick and lofty reeds of a neighbouring marsh. The hostile camp was surprised in the night; Evagoras was slain in the first attack; most of the soldiers surrendered; and Nicanor with a few followers avoided destruction by flying into the desert. Their camp, their treasures, and, what to Seleucus was the greatest treasure, a large body of well-disciplined Macedonians, rewarded the success of this bold stratagem.[75]

His stratagem.

From the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus, or rather from this victory by which the invaluable possession was defended, the historians of all nations, except the Chaldæans alone, date the æra of the Seleucidæ, the long line of the Greek dynasty in Upper Asia; an æra still recognised in the East, by Christians and Heathens, Mahometans and Jews. It commences in the autumn of the year three hundred and twelve before Christ. The Jews named it the æra of contracts, because, by it solely, till the eleventh century after Christ, they dated all legal transactions[76]; the books of the Maccabees call it

Æra of the kingdom of the Greeks. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

[75] Diodor. l. xix. s. 92.

[76] Usher, Petav, &c. de ær. Seleucid.

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" the æra of the kingdom of the Greeks ;" and the Arabs still distinguish it by the epithet of " two horned[77]," expressing the great emblem of power in oriental antiquity; an emblem adopted by Alexander himself, and still conspicuous on his own coins, as well as on those not less beautiful of the Seleucidæ, his Assyrian successors.

Demetrius's expedition against Babylon. Olymp. cxvii. 1. B. C. 312.

The Chaldæans alone dated the kingdom of the Greeks a year later than other nations. This distinguished cast, comprising the sacerdotal and other learned professions in Babylon, whose privileges were peculiarly concerned in the issue of the contest between Seleucus and Antigonus, did not think their country completely rescued from the grasp of the latter, till the disgraceful repulse of Demetrius in the ensuing spring. That prince, after his unsuccessful expedition against the Nabathæan Arabs, rejoined his father in Syria, where they received the mortifying intelligence, that Seleucus, after the recovery of Babylonia, had pursued Nicanor into Media, reduced him to the necessity of fighting, and slain him, with his own hand, in a battle that procured for the victor the immediate submission of Upper Asia.[78] To the sanguine temper of Antigonus, these misfortunes seemed not irretrievable. Demetrius was sent with fifteen thousand foot and four thousand horse to reconquer Babylon, a city first rendered defenceless through the jealous despotism of the

[77] Golij Not. ad Alphragan, p. 58.

[78] Appian, Syriac. c. 55.

Persians, and still altogether unprepared for resisting a vigorous assault. Patrocles, who during Seleucus's absence commanded in the place, was apprised of the enemy's motions, and lost not any time in communicating the news of them to his master. But the rapidity of Demetrius would have anticipated a less distant foe. He had already passed the Euphrates, and was marching through Mesopotamia, when Patrocles proposed to the inhabitants of Babylon a very extraordinary measure, which was embraced with yet more extraordinary consent.

The Babylonians fly their country.

This was nothing less than that the vast multitude of peaceful and industrious natives should abandon their city to an invader, whom they had not arms to resist, and patiently wait for a change of fortune, either through his own success against the enemy, or the return of Seleucus with his victorious army from the East. The whole body of the people, not excepting those privileged orders of men long proverbial for pomp and luxury, left their habitations and comforts; and fled in various directions, with their families and treasures; some pursuing the road through the desert, others crossing the Tigris to the fertile province of Susiana; while Patrocles, with his Macedonians, and such natives of Babylon, as had courage to follow his standard, after garrisoning two strong palaces or castles, lurked amidst the marshes and canals of the Euphrates, watching an opportunity of some stolen advantage over assailants whom he durst not openly oppose. Demetrius mean time ad-

Which Demetrius.

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vanced, and upon entering the gates without resistance, found to his astonishment the city ransacked and deserted. The two strong fortresses on opposite banks of the Euphrates refused, however, to surrender at his summons. One of them was taken after an obstinate resistance, sacked without mercy, and strongly garrisoned. But the other held out so long, that the patience of Demetrius was exhausted. The time had elapsed which Antigonus had fixed for his return into Syria. He therefore left his lieutenant Archelaus with five thousand foot, and one thousand horse to prosecute the siege, and marched towards the sea-coast, indulging his troops in the utmost licence of plunder.[79]

plunders in his retreat.

The cruelty of his invasion, and the vengeful desolation of his retreat, riveted the Babylonians more firmly than ever to Seleucus. The besiegers, whom Demetrius had left behind, soon became the besieged; and they, as well as the garrison, occupying the fortress which he had taken, surrendered unconditionally[80]; it is uncertain whether to Patrocles, after he emerged from his concealment, or to Seleucus in person after his triumphant return from the East.

The Babylonians thereby riveted in affection to Seleucus.

This sudden revolution in the upper provinces, which it would require his undivided exertions to recover, induced Antigonus to listen to the pacific overtures which Cassander and Ptolemy had separately and repeatedly made to him.[81]

General peace between Antigonus and the confederates, Seleucus

[79] Diodor. l. xix. s. 100.

[80] Plutarch in Demet., and Diodor. ubi supra.

[81] Diodor. l. xix. s. 62. and 75.

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Victorious in three scenes of the war; in Syria, in the peninsula of Asia, and in Greece; the compactness of his dominions, as well as the superiority of his army, which, when commanded by himself had never suffered a defeat, threatened Egypt on one side, and Macedon on the other. He seemed entitled therefore to dictate the terms of peace to which Lysimachus, still employed in the obstinate siege of Callatis, gladly acceded. In the treaty which immediately followed, no mention is made of the fair division of the provinces, or the equal partition of treasures; demands which had given birth to the war. The dominion of all Asia is conceded to Antigonus; an article by which the allies clearly abandoned the interests of Seleucus. Egypt, with its dependencies in Africa, was assigned to Ptolemy; Macedon, to Cassander; Thrace, to Lysimachus: and it was agreed on all sides that Greece, meaning thereby the Greek republics in Asia as well as Europe, should be allowed to resume, and thenceforward permitted to enjoy, its beloved hereditary freedom.

only excepted. Olymp. cxvii. 2. B. C. 311.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF PART II.

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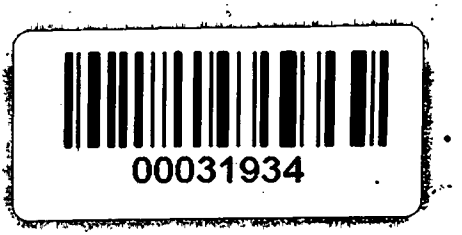
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